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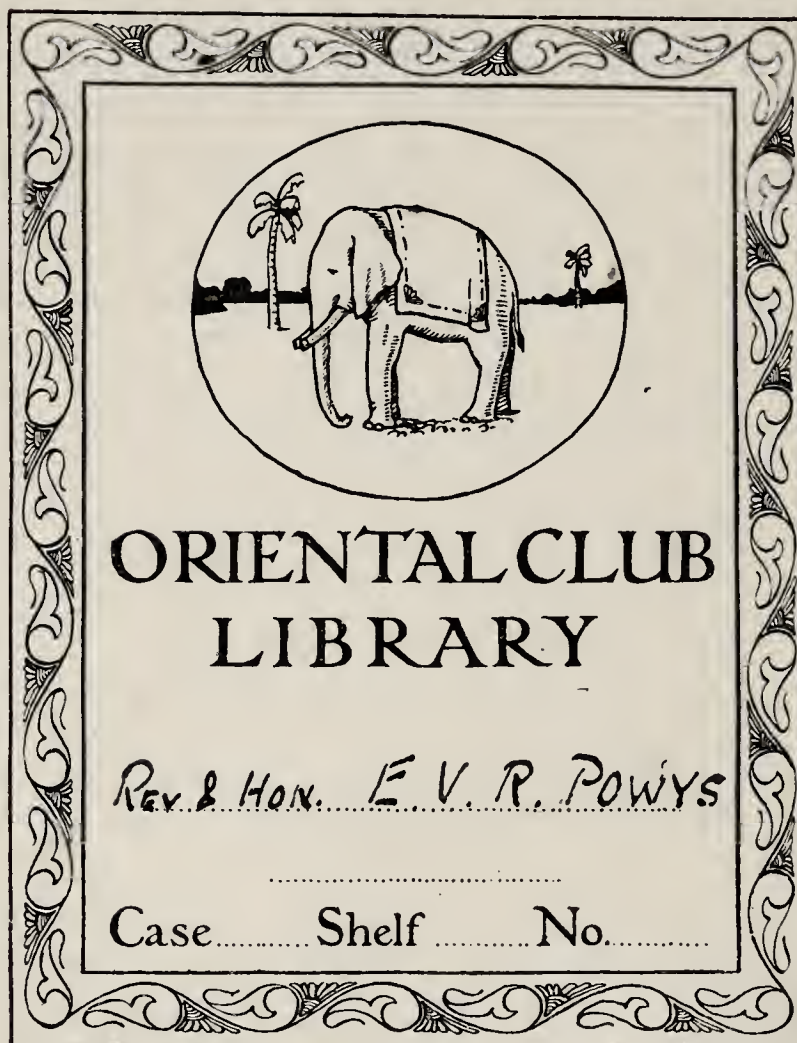


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THE STORY OF THE
CAMPBELLS OF KINLOCH

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OLD SEIGNEURIAL MILL—"MILNTOWN OF STRATHBRAAN."

Frontispiece

THE STORY OF THE CAMPBELLS OF KINLOCH

BY E. DALHOUSIE LOGIN

AUTHOR OF
"LADY LOGIN'S RECOLLECTIONS"

LONDON
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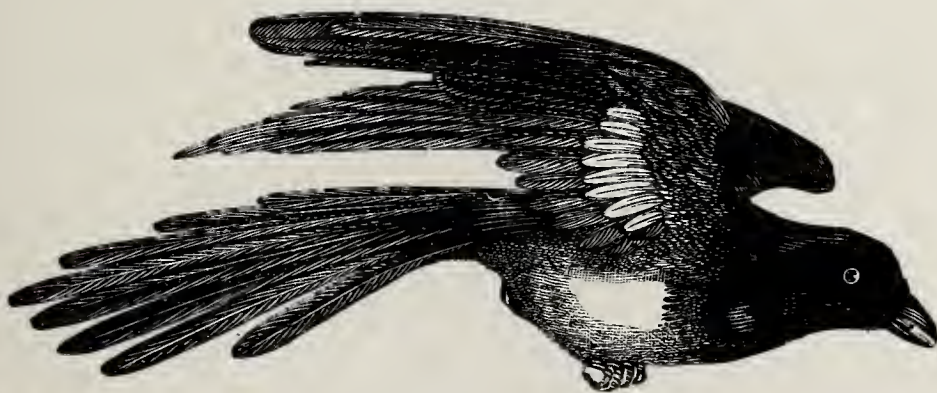
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FOREWORD

FOR the information in this work respecting the lineage and the earlier generations of the family of the Campbells of Kinloch, I am chiefly indebted to the officials of H.M. Court of the Lord Lyon, The Register House, Edinburgh; including Rothesay Herald and Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, Bart., C.V.O. (Carrick Pursuivant); and to the late Mr. John Christie, Morningside Road, Edinburgh, and Mr. J. H. Mayne Campbell, to all of whom I desire to express my gratitude for their continued and unstinted assistance.

THE AUTHOR.

WISSETT GRANGE, HALESWORTH,
July 3, 1924.



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THE STORY OF THE CAMPBELLS OF KINLOCH

I

“DON JUAN”

FEW families of their antiquity and descent would have been content to continue in ignorance of their actual lineage as have the last four generations of the Campbells of Kinloch.

The fact is largely to be accounted for by the tremendous break in the family traditions and history which took place in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the heir returned after (it is said) fifty years' absence in the southern hemisphere, to find that

his decease had been so effectively presumed by the junior branches of the family that a nephew was installed in possession of the estates, and ere he and his tutors and guardians were ejected by decree of the Court of Session, many family papers and valuables had disappeared ; and either then, or a generation or two later, it is asserted that the muniment-chest with all the records was destroyed by fire.¹

This alone, however, does not quite explain how the two surviving sons of the exile, who afterwards succeeded him as Lairds of Kinloch, steadily ignored, or were unaware of, the fact that their father possessed seven brothers and sisters, children of the same mother, besides three others by a second wife. The majority of them were still living when he returned from abroad.

All points to a very serious quarrel or schism in the family, for though Charles Campbell's sons could not fail to have been aware of the existence of two of their uncles, even this knowledge seems to have died out in the next generation and only a vague tradition remained of a "good Mungo"—a personage in whom was blended the name of the eldest brother with the adventures and characteristics of the third.

Thus it comes about that to the present descendants of Charles Campbell of Kinloch he appears as a solitary figure without kith or kin, arriving from the outermost regions of the earth to claim his rights, to find himself the last of his family, with only a "Birthbrief" extending back for three or four generations to estab-

¹ Note by Mr. J. H. Mayne Campbell: "I have an impression that in the sixteenth century a lot of the old Murthlie papers (progenitors of the Kinloch Campbells) were similarly destroyed."

lish his descent from the House of Lawers ! His actual grandchildren, in fact, could only name to me as his nearest remaining relative an unknown “Robert Nutter Campbell of Kailzie, near Peebles,” whose identity has only been made clear to me within the last few months !

For over a hundred years or so it does not seem to have occurred to them that if *family* archives and pedigrees had vanished, there were other sources of information on which to draw, though both time and patience are necessary in the search, and that it is only bit by bit that the story can be pieced together.

No ! they were content—my mother and her brothers and sisters—to rest on the vague traditions of the old folk in the Strath, supplemented by what they could extract from that silent and half-foreign man, their father ; and as my mother was the youngest, and his favourite, it was to her that he occasionally unbent !

To the day of his death, my grandfather, who throughout Perthshire was known by the sobriquet of “Don Juan,” spoke only in imperfect English, and his style of dress was regarded even then as old-fashioned and peculiar.

When he first married in 1804, he still wore powder with his hair in a queue, though later on this was represented by a bunch of black ribbons at the back of the high collar of his claret-coloured cut-away coat, with its large gilt buttons. Instead of the then fashionable stock he wore a beautifully folded, large, soft-muslin neckerchief, a frill of delicate lace down the front of his shirt, and lace ruffles at his wrists, combined with black knee-breeches, silk stockings and silver-buckled shoes. Out

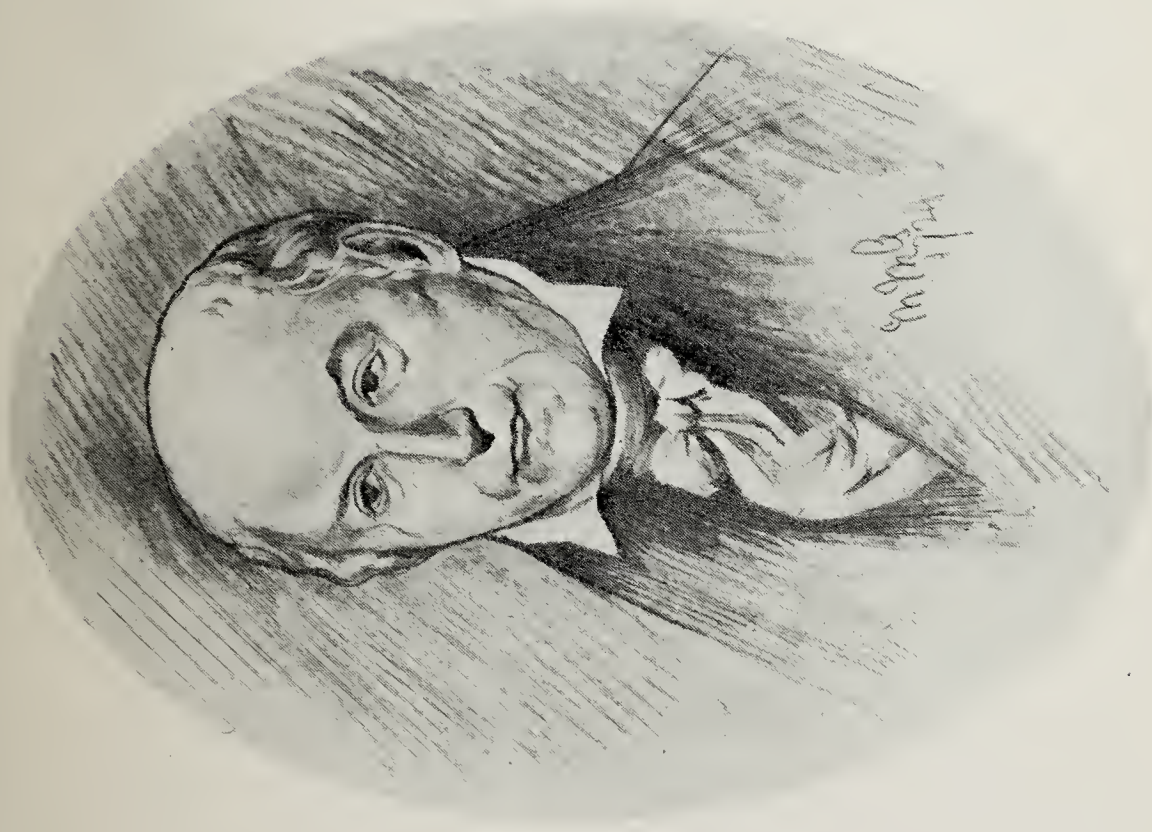
of doors he was never seen without a loose Spanish cloak with silver clasps, one end flung over his left shoulder, and a tall, gold-topped cane of Brazilian wood.

He was a splendid horseman, and when mounted on his black stallion, rode into Dunkeld on market days, was the object of fervent admiration to all the bare-legged laddies of the town in his wide-skirted riding coat, with foreign cloak and his Hessian boots adorned with tassels and furnished with huge, rowelled spurs.

His ideas on the deportment and upbringing of young ladies were distinctly "meridional," and he was greatly scandalised at the liberty accorded by Scottish custom to his own and other people's unmarried daughters. One of his peculiarities was his insistence on his daughters wearing earrings even from their earliest years, since "in *his* country" they were the distinctive mark of gentle birth, and his two youngest girls, aged respectively five and three, he personally escorted to Perth to have their ears pierced by the jeweller! ¹

Before setting down in detail the actual facts as gleaned from authentic documents, I think I cannot do better than tell the tale of these two generations as related in the family, and noted down by me at the time, many, many years ago, from the lips of three of my mother's sisters, as well as from her own. It undoubtedly smacks of romance—yet, to my thinking, the true happenings, as I shall presently relate them, are even more remarkable.

¹ For a fuller description of my grandfather, John (or "Juan") Campbell of Kinloch, his ideas, appearance and mode of dress, etc., see *Lady Login's Recollections*, chap. i. pp. 5-17. (John Murray.)



PORTRAITS OF JOHN CAMPBELL OF KINLOCH AND HIS WIFE, ANN TRAPAUD CAMPBELL.
Sketch from oil painting in possession of Miss L. Campbell Penney.



From contemporary miniature.

II

THE FAMILY TRADITION

“CHARLES CAMPBELL of Kinloch”—the story runs—
“as the eldest son of the Laird, was ‘out in the ’45,’
and participated in the March to Derby, and the
Retreat as far as the entry of the Highlands. He
commanded a detachment of the Kinloch tenants in
the Prince’s army, but was summoned in haste to
his father’s death-bed when the halt was made at
Stirling or Callander, leaving his younger brother
Mungo, although only eighteen, in charge of his men.
Mungo acquitted himself well in all the fighting
leading up to the battle of Culloden, in which he was
killed.

“When this catastrophe occurred, Charles, now
Laird of Kinloch, was persuaded by a cousin, also a
‘Mungo Campbell’ (invariably alluded to in the
family as ‘the *bad* Mungo’) that his life was in danger,
and that he must flee the country, this ‘Mungo’
offering to see after his interests and, if possible, save
the estates for him.

“Charles fled to Portugal, and at Oporto, not long
after his arrival there, was, with a friend, drawn by
curiosity to enter one of the churches to view the
ceremony of the ‘profession of novices’ from a neigh-
bouring convent. He fell in love at first sight with
one of the postulants about to take the white veil,
who was an orphan-niece of the Bishop of Oporto
and a considerable heiress. Her uncle had placed
her in a convent until a suitable *parti* arrived on the
scene, and failing that was preparing the way for her
dowry to swell the coffers of the Church. She was
reputed to be in some way connected with the Braganza
family.

“Notwithstanding all this, Charles Campbell managed to get into touch with her, and his suit prospered so well that, with the connivance of her old nurse, still her personal attendant, the couple eloped one night across the Spanish border, and were married in a remote country church, the nurse and Charles Campbell’s friend being sole witnesses. The lady’s name was given as ‘Doña Euphrosia Maria Ferreira’—with no additional maternal surname (in Portuguese fashion), which would have helped to establish her family and identity. ‘Ferreira’ in itself, with varied spelling, is one of the most ordinary of Portuguese names, borne alike by noble and peasant.

“The marriage created a most terrible scandal. A clandestine marriage in itself runs counter to the ordinances of the Council of Trent, and this one was in addition an act of sacrilege, Doña Euphrosia having received no dispensation from her vows. It was long before the Bishop’s wrath could be appeased, and he only exerted his influence with the Pope and the King of Portugal on the promise that the delinquents vowed one of their children—it is said, ‘the second son’—to the Church. The guilty pair were banished to the Brazils, but by the Royal clemency, a tract of land there was bestowed on the lady in the stead of her estates in Portugal, forfeited for her misdemeanour.

“There they lived and there they brought up six children—four boys (one of whom, Carlos, died young)—and two daughters; whereof one, Anna, married, but died later, and the other, Mary, became a nun. But of where they lived, and where the estates were situated, nothing was known!

“Charles Campbell therefore for many years lay *perdu* in Brazil, till intelligence reached him that he might safely return to claim his inheritance, and he

sent word of his existence to the cousin, Mungo Campbell, whom he believed was watching over his interests.

“ Meantime, in fulfilment of their vow or promise, he and his wife had educated their second son Gregory, or Gregorio, for the Roman priesthood, and despatched him to complete his studies under the eye of his grand-uncle, the Bishop of Oporto. News, however, came from this latter, that the boy had been lost at sea, in a ship that foundered with all hands on its passage from Lisbon to Civita Vecchia; the Bishop having resolved that his grand-nephew should proceed to Rome for further instruction before taking Orders.

“ While expressing his own grief, and his sympathy with the bereaved parents, the Bishop urged them to lose no time in despatching to him to take his brother’s place, their now second son, named John or ‘ Juan ’ (the Spanish form), a lad of eighteen whose bent and habits hitherto had been in the direction of sport and a military profession. In spite of his protests the lad was shipped off to Oporto and placed in a seminary. But Doña Euphrosia never recovered from the loss of her favourite son Gregorio; she spent her days in fasts and pilgrimages, fell into a decline, and died soon after. Her husband, having now no ties to bind him to Brazil, disposed of the property there—it was believed to the married daughter and her husband—and with his sole remaining and eldest son Joseph, or José, returned to Scotland to claim his estates.

“ He had the greatest difficulty in proving his identity. No one seemed to recognise him, and it was only a chance meeting at the inn at Crieff, with a gentleman (said to be Sir Patrick Murray of Abercairney), a former playfellow, that there appeared any likelihood of a witness to swear to him in a court of law. This gentleman, on hearing his voice in the

inn yard, rushed out of the coffee-room exclaiming : ' Yon's the voice of Charlie Campbell of Kinloch, or I'm a Dutchman ! ' but when face to face with a swarthy stranger could discover no resemblance in his features to his old friend. His actual right to the name he claimed was finally established by his old nurse, who, though unable to recognise him otherwise, swore that ' if he was her laddie, they would find on his left breast, a mole in semblance of a " wee mousie," and this proving to be the case, she then, catching sight of his son José, pronounced him " the very marrow of his father at the same age ! " ' "

" His wife being now dead, and his submission made to King George's rule, Kinloch listened to the complaints of his youngest surviving son, and abandoned the idea of forcing him to take the tonsure. Yielding apparently to his desire for a military career, with a certain sardonic humour he asked for, and obtained for him a commission in a Highland Regiment, then serving in the Low Countries. To the foreign-bred youth this experience was a martyrdom, and he never referred to the years spent in the army save to express his horror and detestation of the Highland dress which he had been compelled to wear, and as soon as ever he was permitted, threw up his commission and joined his father and brother at Kinloch.

" Not long after this Charles Campbell died under rather strange circumstances, which had a strong influence on what followed after.

" The two sons had been away on a visit to Murthly Castle (?), leaving the father alone at Kinloch. This was a rare occurrence. An unexpected and terrified messenger arrived to summon them home, as their father, who had seemed in his usual health, had over-heated himself shooting on the hills, been seized with a violent fever, and the groom, despatched for

the Dunkeld apothecary, had orders to ride on to Murthly to fetch his young masters.

“ When they reached the house they found that, by some means, word had got to the priests at Crieff, and that the Prior of a monastery in that district had appeared with two or three other ecclesiastics, taken complete charge of the sick man, and allowed no other person, not even his own body-servant, to enter the room. The story goes, as told in the family—though on the face of it highly improbable—that though the sons swore that their father was faint for lack of food, the priests would suffer none to be administered to him ‘ since he had already received extreme unction ! ’ and that the young men were barred from their dying parent’s couch until the last agonies were over, albeit José stood on his rights, knocked loudly on the door, and had even sent to summon the smith from the Deanshaugh forge to force the lock, when at length it was opened from within !

“ The two sons bided their time until the actual interment had taken place in the family burying-ground at Shian, eight miles off, up Glen Quaich ; which they suffered, or rather ordered, to be conducted with all the pomp possible, and the full rites of the then proscribed Church of Rome, and as they locked the door of the ruined chapel ere the company dispersed, they took all there to witness that from that hour they renounced the Romish faith, and would be henceforward Whigs and Protestants ! A large gathering of Perthshire nobles and notabilities were present at this scene.

“ José Campbell thus became Laird of Kinloch, and lived there with his younger brother John, or ‘ Juan ’, who perfectly adored him. José was akin to his father’s people, both in complexion, appearance and

ideas, but Juan remained a foreigner to the day of his death, and never rightly spoke his father's tongue.¹ José never married.

"Years passed, and a fearful gale swept Scotland, and rushed with full force down Strathbraan and around Kinloch Lodge. Late in the evening, when it was at its height, and the two brothers were alone in the parlour, the servants being shut off in a separate wing of the building, there came a knocking at the front door. Thinking it might be but the wind, or the branch of a tree rattling on the panel, José would not have the servants disturbed, but took a lamp and went with Juan to see if there were anyone there.

"As he raised the latch the wind flung wide the door, extinguishing the lamp, and whirled a tall, black figure enveloped in a long cloak past Juan and into the passage beyond; so that Juan, who was struggling with the door, never saw the stranger's face, as José took him straight into his own private study, and ordered the manservant to bring food and wine there, bid 'Mr. John' not wait up for him, and go to bed himself, as he—the Laird—would attend to all 'the gentleman' wanted. That was the last that was ever seen alive of José Campbell!

"Juan as bidden went upstairs, though very uneasy, and the servants retired. As day was dawning an awful shriek roused the whole household, and all rushed in a body to the Laird's room, to find him dead in his chair, his silver drinking-cup upset on the table, an outer door giving on to the garden standing wide open, and the stranger vanished!

"Juan's grief was tragic! Nothing could shake his belief that his brother had been assassinated by

¹ The last person able to describe the appearance of José, as well as Juan Campbell, was Miss Christina Dow of Amulree. She died about 1900.

the mysterious unknown, and that the latter was an emissary of Rome, though he failed to convince the authorities that a crime had been committed.

“ He spent his days searching for his brother’s murderer, and was very unwilling to assume the estates, as he was equally firmly convinced that no credence could be given to any story put about by the priests, and that the possibility still held that the death of his other brother Gregorio had been presumed by them for their own purposes, so that there were many chances that he was still alive and would yet return to claim his rights.

“ But as the years went by José’s death remained still a mystery, though Juan continued to receive reports from various quarters of the appearance of individuals resembling the sinister stranger, and on every occasion assiduously followed up the clue, pursuing the search throughout the length and breadth of Scotland.

“ His was a lonely life, and he at length yielded to the representations of his friends and relatives, and turned his thoughts on marriage. The adviser on whom he chiefly relied was James, 5th Earl of Loudoun, a distant kinsman, who had lately succeeded a cousin, and whose sole heiress was a little daughter, only a few years old. Failing her (for the Earldom went also in the female line), there was one branch, if not more, of the family apparently intervening, before the Kinloch Campbells came into the succession, but for some reason ¹ the Earl had pitched upon this solitary

¹ That the 5th Earl used some such words as tradition avers to Kinloch there seems little doubt, though Burke gives the Campbells of Aberuchill as next in the line of succession. When, however, the fresh Charter was granted for the Loudoun titles in 1707, a Power of Appointment was given, and (it is believed) a fresh line of remainder settled, of which it is possible the 3rd Earl may have availed himself.

and forlorn scion of the House of Lawers as the next in the line, and hailed him as 'heir-male' of the Campbell Earls of Loudoun. 'Remember, cousin,' he is stated to have said, 'that nothing stands between you and the Earldom save this little weakly bairn, my daughter!' And it is said that, to ease the sick man's mind (for the Earl himself was slowly dying of consumption), and to make provision secure for the future little Countess, Kinloch put his signature to documents passing any rights he might have as heir of entail on to little Lady Flora.

"Lord Loudoun, therefore, was very interested and urgent in the matter of his kinsman's marriage, but did not live to see it take place.

"John Campbell married Ann Trapaud Campbell, daughter of John Campbell of Melfort, in Argyllshire. Her father was Colonel of the Argyllshire Fencibles, Lieutenant-Governor of Fort George, and had had twenty-two children, seventeen of whom survived.

"Of this marriage of two Campbells there followed eleven children, viz. Charles, afterwards Major-General and last Laird of Kinloch, John (Lt.-Colonel), Colin (Major), 'George' or Georgina (Mrs. Jarvis), Euphrosia Maria Ferreira (Mrs. White), Anne (Mrs. Hope Dick), Charlotte Olympia Cockburn (Mrs. C. W. Campbell in Boreland), Louisa Jane (Mrs. William Penney), Patricia (died unmarried), Margaret (Mrs. Meiklejohn), and my own mother—Lena (Lady Login)."

III

DESCENT FROM LAWERS, THROUGH MURTHLIE

THUS far tradition—now for the facts as substantiated by contemporary documents or the public records.

As will be seen from the Chart Pedigree,¹ Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, created Lord Campbell in 1445, was the sixth in direct descent from the Sir Gillespie or Archibald Campbell who died towards the end of the thirteenth century: and that Sir Duncan was the common ancestor of three great branches of the Clan Campbell—Argyll, Breadalbane and Lawers—and of their numerous cadets.

The family of Argyll is descended from Sir Duncan's son by his first wife, and that of Glenurchy (or Glenorchy) and of Lawers from a son of his second one.

Sir Colin Campbell, the eldest son of Sir Duncan's second marriage, was the first of the Glenurchy line, and was married twice, if not three or four times. Sir Colin's eldest son by his earlier marriage with Ionet, one of the daughters and co-heiresses of John, Lord Lorn, was Sir Duncan Campbell, who carried on the Glenurchy line now represented by the Earl of Breadalbane. Sir Colin's eldest son by his last wife, Margaret, daughter of Luke Stirling of Keir, was John, the first of the Campbells of Lawers.

This John Campbell of Lawers had three sons by his first wife, Margaret or Agnes, daughter of Sir John Moncrieff of Moncrieff—James, who succeeded to Lawers, and from whom the Campbell Earls of Loudoun, and the families of Lawers, Aberuchill and

¹ Compiled, as far down as Archibald Campbell of Lochow in the Argyll branch, Sir Duncan Campbell in the Glenurchy branch, Flora, Countess of Loudoun in the Lawers branch, and Archibald Campbell the third of the Murthlie branch, from *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon-King-of-Arms, vols. i. 319-32; ii. 174-8; v. 499-513, as amended by the *corrigenda* in vol. xii.

Clathick and their cadets are descended ; John, who succeeded his *younger* brother as second of Murthlie ; and Archibald, who was the first of Murthlie,¹ and married Elizabeth Wedderburn, but died without issue.

John Campbell, the second Laird of Murthlie, according to the tradition in the family,² married a daughter of Evir or Iver Campbell of Strachur, and by her had two sons—Archibald, who succeeded to Murthlie and from whom the succeeding Campbell Lairds of Murthlie are descended ; and a younger son, Thomas Campbell. There are other marriages, authenticated by record evidence, of this John, the second

¹ “ Murthly,” says Mr. J. Christie, “ lies $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the east of Aberfeldy, and must not be confused with the Murthly situated on the Tay to the S. of Dunkeld. . . . Nothing is now known locally of the family. . . . Prior to the alteration of parish boundaries in 1891 it formed a detached portion of the parish of Weem, and was anciently described as a ‘ five-pund land of old extent, in the lordship of Coupar.’ In 1642 the mansion-house and mill were both standing. By 1772 the estate had passed into the hands of the Breadalbane family. In 1794 the Earl of Moray was superior. . . . As at present tenanted, in one holding, the boundary on the E. side, which forms the march between the estates of Breadalbane and Grantully, is not the true one ; for in 1843, the Marquess of Breadalbane excambed the portion of the hill of Murthly, called ‘ Lutter Lundie,’ forming part of the lands of Murthly belonging to him, extending to 133 acres Scots, and worth £20 yearly, for those portions of the lands of Cuiltullich belonging to Sir William Drummond Steuart of Grantully, Bart., and consisting of 19 acres 291 dec. Scots pasture . . . the sole reason lying in Sir William’s desire to be ‘ monarch of all he surveyed ’ from the door of his shooting-lodge at Loch Kennard.’ ”—(Quoted by the author, April 1904, from an article in *Scottish Notes and Queries*, November 1898.) This may probably have originated the tradition in the Kinloch family that at one time Loch Kennard was included in the property.

² Communicated by the present Duke of Argyll to Mr. J. H. Mayne Campbell.

Laird, with Marjorie Menzies, by whom he had a son John ; and subsequently with Margaret Drummond, by whom he had two sons, Hugh and James.¹

The Thomas Campbell above referred to was the ancestor of the Campbells of Kinloch, and their cadet branches. In some of their pedigrees he is designed "of Ardchoil," which probably refers to Easter or Wester Ardchyle in Glendochart,² but no contemporary or record evidence of his connection with these lands has been met with as yet. What is, however, of more importance in identifying him is that he describes himself on January 4, 1575-6, as son to the late John Campbell of Murthlie in a discharge for part payment of "tocher-good" due to him, and, in a later discharge of January 20, 1577-8, he states that the tocher-good was promised to him with Elspet Stewart.³ So that his parentage on his father's side, as well as the name of his wife, is thus established. And "Thomas," as a christian name, is of so uncommon appearance at this period amongst any of these branches of the Campbells that we are dealing with, that we may reasonably identify this "Thomas,"⁴ son of the 2nd Laird of Murthlie, with the "Thomas Campbell in

¹ Another son, also named "John," is mentioned as living in "Turbericks" (? Turrerich), Glenquaich, in 1588, who was legitimatised only in 1590.

² Mr. J. Christie says Easter Ardchyle, as he knew it to have belonged to the Lawers family.

³ Original discharges from the Castle Menzies charter-room, given to James Menzies of that ilk, whose mother was a Campbell of Lawers, and who himself married a Stewart, a daughter of the Earl of Atholl.

⁴ He had the two-merklands of the Drum of Kilmorich from Duncan Campbell of Glenlyon.—Acts and Decrees, vol. 195, pp. 89 and 90 (June 27, 1586).

Murthlie " who is mentioned on May 20, 1578,¹ and who was dead before June 8, 1620.²

On that date John Campbell, described as " the lawful son of the late Thomas Campbell in Murthlie," had sasine on a charter in his favour, of five days earlier, by Sir James Campbell of Lawers, of " the three-merkland of Candloche (Kinloch) in Glenquaich " under reversion in 1,200 merks. Whether this John Campbell was a son of Thomas by Elspet Stewart or by another wife does not appear, but at all events he is described as his father's lawful son.

This charter, under reversion, and the sasine following upon it mark the first interest acquired by the Campbells of Kinloch in their lands. Later on their holding of Kinloch became a four-merkland, and again later they held it without any reservation of reversion ; and it may be of interest to trace their acquisition of the remaining merkland of the property. Half of it (then occupied by William McLawrine) was first of all granted by the same Sir James Campbell of Lawers, with other lands, on June 3, 1620, to John Campbell of Edramuckie and his second wife, and to Edramuckie's youngest son by his first wife, another John Campbell, all under a larger reversion.³ " It was probably," writes Mr. Mayne Campbell, " this small interest that the Edramuckie Campbells acquired in Kinloch, and a confusing of this John Campbell, who was afterwards of Wester Garrows, with Thomas' son John Campbell who got the other

¹ Notarial Instructions, Castle Menzies Charter-room.

² Reg. Sas. Perthsh., 2nd Series, iii. 259 (July 24, 1620).

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 262 (July 24, 1620).

three merklands of Kinloch, that gave rise to the impression that the Campbells of Kinloch came from the Murthlies *through the Edramuckies*. Any such indirect descent may, however, be dismissed, as it seems sufficiently clear that the Kinlochs came directly from the Murthlies through Thomas Campbell in Murthlie. The other half of this merkland of Kinloch was granted by the same Lawers and at the same time, along with other lands, to George Dow, then in Balloch, and afterwards in Tirchardie, also under a large reversion¹; and four years later George Dow transferred it to his brother Finlay Dow, under reversion.² Then in 1627 the above John Campbell, Edramuckie's son, and Finlay³ Dow, granted these two half-merklands of Kinloch (then occupied by William McWilliam McAlvig) to John Campbell in Kinloch and Ionet Dow his wife, under reversion in 400 merks.⁴ This brings the whole four-merkland of Kinloch into the Kinloch Campbells' hands under reversions amounting to 1,600 merks.

“From June 8, 1620, we might have expected to find Thomas' son John Campbell designated Wadsetter of Kinloch, but in numerous references to him, between 1625 and 1627, he is still styled ‘in Kinloch,’ and in two or three cases he is mentioned and described as ‘of Kinloch.’ He died between April 28, 1628, and July 16, 1629⁵; and it was his eldest lawful son by

¹ *Ibid.*, 2nd Series, iii. 263 (July 24, 1620).

² *Ibid.*, 3rd Series, i. 4 (November 11, 1624).

³ The christian name “Finlay” survived among the Dows of Tirchardie to the end of the nineteenth century.

⁴ Reg. Sas. Perthsh., 3rd Series, ii. 385 (January 15, 1627).

⁵ Acts and Decrees, vol. 483, p. 198 (November 6, 1635).

Ionet Dow—Mungo Campbell—in whose favour Sir James Campbell of Lawers granted a charter of alienation of the four-merkland of Kinloch without any reservation of reversion, on June 16, 1630,¹ who would be the first of the family to be correctly styled ‘of Kinloch.’ ”²

IV

CAMPBELLS OF KINLOCH

FROM this point downwards the pedigree is clear.

On the authority of the “Birthbrief” John’s wife is given as Janet, or Ionet,³ daughter of James Dow of Tirchardie, instead of—as in Miss Margaret Campbell’s *Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort*⁴ —“Janetta, daughter of John Dow of Arnhall.” She survived her husband⁵ until 1648.

John Campbell the first of Kinloch was one of the Assize at the “Retour” of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, October 27, 1627. He had a tack of the Teind of Murthlie from Mr. James Menzies, Minister of Weem, which he assigned to his wife,⁶ and was tutor to John Campbell of Murthlie between

¹ Reg. Sas. Perthsh., 3rd Series, v. 312 (July 8, 1631).

² John Campbell the first, and all his successors, are nevertheless distinctly described as “of Kinloch” throughout the Birthbrief granted by Lyon-King-of-Arms in 1776 to his descendant Charles Campbell of Kinloch.

³ The late Alex. Thomson Grant’s MS. *Book of the Clan Campbell*, viii. 245.

⁴ P. 66 (Simmons & Botten, 1882).

⁵ *Book of C. C.*, viii. 286–9.

⁶ *The Clan Campbell* (Sir D. Campbell), ii. 289.

1617-36.¹ His daughter Katherine married James, youngest son of John McGrudy in Innerclaive.² He is fined for resettling the Clan Gregor, October 10, 1628.³ He died prior to July 17, 1634,⁴ when his eldest son Mungo was served heir to his estate. Burke gives his death as “*ante* 29 August 1648.”

Mungo, 2nd Laird of Kinloch, is mentioned in the Retours, or Services of Heirs, July 17, 1634, as “*Quintigernus* (i.e. *Kentigern* = Mungo) *Campbell haeres Joannis Campbell de Keandloche, patris.*”⁵

John Campbell, 3rd Laird of Kinloch, was served heir to his brother Mungo 1654, and is mentioned as present as “elder” in Kenmore Kirk, May 27, 1661,⁶ showing that he was a Presbyterian. His wife is given by Burke and in the Birthbrief as “Annabella,” daughter of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine. But an entry in Kenmore Kirk Session Records in 1655, noting the baptism of his daughter Colian, gives his wife’s name as “Margaret Campbell.”⁷ Unless the lady had *two* names this John Campbell must have had two wives both Campbells, for there exists, dated June 1648, a marriage contract of his (with consent of his mother Ionet Dow) with “Margaret,” daughter of Patrick Campbell of Inverreldies,⁸ and she got sasine June 24, 1656, as his spouse, in three merklands (of four) of Kinloch, with the principal house of Kinloch.⁹ She was dead by December 12,

¹ *The C. C.*, ii. 290.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 213.

² *Ibid.*, vi. 228.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv. 182.

⁵ Mr. J. Christie in a letter, April 16, 1904.

⁶ Mr. J. Christie, 1904.

⁷ Mr. J. Christie, 1904.

⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸ A. T. G., *Book of C. C.*, iv. 171.

1674.¹ Her husband, John Campbell, died *ante* January 11, 1671.²

We now arrive at Mungo Campbell (second of that name), 4th Laird of Kinloch.³

In the year 1696 he is recorded as Factor or Chamberlain of the Perthshire estates of the then Earl of Breadalbane,⁴ and this office he appears to have held continuously almost up to his death. In the Birthbrief his wife is given as Catherine, daughter of Patrick Murray of Ardbenie, and the late Mr. Alexander Thomson Grant mentions him as "brother-in-law of Mr. John Murray, Minister at Scone."⁵ His name crops up continually in the records, and he must have been Laird of Kinloch an immense number of years; indeed the impression is given that he outlived his eldest son John, but this was not the case. The latter, however, was never actually invested with the estates, as they passed apparently directly from Mungo, 4th Laird, the date of whose death is not clear, to another Mungo, this John's eldest son, and elder brother of Charles "the exile." The last recorded document executed by Mungo the 4th Laird is a factory drawn out by him at "Milntown of Invercochill," dated January 30, 1699,⁶ and his signature as witness on another deed on September 22 of the same year,⁷ but he is believed to have been living at a much later period.

¹ *The C. C.*, ii. 75.

² Mr. J. Christie, April 6, 1904.

³ Mentioned January 28, 1675. *The C.C.*, ii. 75-6.

⁴ Mr. J. Christie.

⁵ August 4, 1694, A. T. G., *Book of C. C.*, iv. 179. Also Sir D. Campbell's *The Clan Campbell*, ii. 118.

⁶ *The Clan Campbell*, ii. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.*, ii. 129.

Mungo the 4th Laird had two brothers and two sisters,¹ children of his father John (the 3rd Laird and elder of Kenmore Kirk), whereof the second, Colin, described as "in Acharn," or "at the mill of Acharn,"² is the progenitor of the Campbells of Possil and Campbells of Colgrain³; also of the Campbells of Park, Moor Park, Hundleshope, Morriston and Kailzie, many of whose portraits appear among the works of Sir Henry Raeburn bequeathed to the Glasgow Art Galleries by Miss Isabella Anne Hay Janet Campbell, herself a descendant of this same Colin in Acharn, who had in 1708 a Wadset of Dalkillin from John Campbell of Turrerich, married Beatrix Duff, of the family of Ballinoan, and died on February 25, 1721.⁴

Colin in Acharn is believed to have had only two sons. Mungo the elder, who had a sasine on precept of *Clare constat* from Campbell of Turrerich, October 15, 1718, was served heir to his father and also Wadsetter of Dalkillin in 1720, and later on of Craigans or "Craggans" in Milnrogie, by which designation he is constantly referred to in the records. He is

¹ *The C. C.*, ii. 120, 76.

² A. T. G., *Book of C. C.*, iv. 180, 182.

³ In the Colgrain pedigree given in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, Colin in Acharn's grandson is said to be identical with Colonel Alexander (known also as "John") of Finab, hero of the Darien Expedition, but this must be an error! Mr. Francis G. Grant (Rothesay Herald) gives, as this latter's father, Robert Campbell of Finab, and his grandfather Archibald Campbell of Monzie, and the Marchioness of Tullibardine in the *Military History of Perthshire*, vol. ii. p. 372, says the same. Sir Duncan Campbell also points out that the dates do not tally—the Darien Expedition was in 1699.

⁴ *The C. C.*, ii. 146.

called also "in Chestle" (or Chesthill), and received a tack of the mill and mill-lands of Milnrogie from the Duke of Atholl in 1745.¹ In fact, he goes indifferently by all these place-names up to 1760. His wife's name is not mentioned, but there is record of a marriage-contract (February 25, 1721) between his brother John, and Margaret Menzies, daughter of the "deceased" Alexander Menzies of Shian.²

Some notes furnished by the Superintendent of the Glasgow Art Galleries in 1922 to Mr. Mayne Campbell regarding the Raeburn portraits in the collection would appear to indicate that Colin in Acharn had a third son named Alexander, a Captain in the Black Watch, married to Helen Campbell of the Glenlyon family, one of whose grandsons was the "Robert Nutter Campbell of Kailzie" before referred to,³ periodically visited with much ceremony by my grandfather. My mother used to describe the latter as at all times very particular about his attire, but on the occasion of these visits his "pernickety ways" reduced the household to tears and his wife to exasperation! The laundering and repairing of his lace ruffles alone took much care and time, and there were certain articles without which he would never stir abroad, amongst them being a certain tall, gold-headed cane, engraved with the Kinloch crest of a boar's head "erected," by which he set great store, since it had been always carried by his father and brother. He appeared to regard it in some sort as a "totem" or symbol of authority, and dire was the consternation caused by its disappearance on the

¹ *The C. C.*, ii. 145.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 146.

³ See p. 3.

occasion of a journey to record his vote in the Parliamentary election.¹

Mungo the 4th Laird is now known to have had three sons—John, Colin and Patrick. Patrick, the youngest son, was alive in 1735,² but nothing further is known of him or his other brother, whether they married or not.

John, the eldest son, my great-great-grandfather, is something of a mystery as regards his position towards the estate.

Though frequently referred to as “of Kinloch” he never seems to have actually held the lands, and they passed to his eldest son in his lifetime on the decease of his father Mungo. Nevertheless it is known that in 1702 he married Margaret, the third daughter of Charles Steuart of Ballechin, and by her had six sons and two daughters, and that subsequently he effected a second marriage with a “Margaret Campbell” who survived him, and was the mother of a seventh son—Duncan—and two more daughters, named respectively Grizel and Margaret. The existence of this second wife is confirmed by more than one document, and notably in a Bond or Assignation to her dated at Ochtertyre, January 9, 1742, wherein a certain sum is made over to her as “John Camp-

¹ Sir Duncan Campbell, in *The Clan Campbell*, iv. 305, notes among the Superiority Rights held by members of the Campbell Clan in Perthshire in 1814, composing a freehold qualification to vote in the shire, the following attached to Campbell of Kinloch—“the lands of Tirichardie, Deansland (2 crofts on N. of Ochterarder), Hornorder S. of Ochterarder, lands adjoining Ochterarder Bridge End, lands adjoining do., Bog of Windshole & parts thereof, Greenhead one-half, Greenhead other-half.”

² *The C. C.*, ii. 141.

bell of Kinloch's " widow, among the witnesses being Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre.¹

This John Campbell therefore had eleven children, and died " about Candlemas," 1742.

It was the eldest of his sons, also named " Mungo," who succeeded Mungo the 4th Laird, his grandfather, though the exact date is not recorded. He was a merchant in Perth, and is so described in his will, and in the Decreet of the Court of Sessions to which reference will presently be made. In a " Disposition " of his property, dated May 2, 1735, referred to later,² he speaks of his " spouse, Anna Burden," who died *ante* 1750, but there was apparently no issue of the marriage; and the family tradition put him down as a bachelor and an invalid, who preferred his town-house in Perth to the rigours of Strathbraan.

He was 5th Laird of Kinloch, but does not seem to have long held the estates, for his will was proved on January 9, 1747, in which they were left to his next brother Charles (known as the " exile ") if alive, and failing him, to the third brother John, and his heirs. As will appear from the " Decreet," Mungo had, during his lifetime, placed this brother John in Kinloch as his factor, and also in trust for his successor, his brother Charles, " while forth of the Kingdom." But John—who was " out in the '45 " at the head of the Kinloch tenants, fought through the whole campaign until the battle of Culloden, and is described in the records as " prisoner at Inverness "—is said to have died in 1746, before his brother Mungo. Where-

¹ *The C. C.*, ii. 143

² Edinburgh Commissariat Register of Testaments, vol. 113, pt. i.

upon, on Mungo's death,¹ in spite of letters written home by Charles to his father, to his brother Mungo, and to his kinsman Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, the son of his grand-uncle "Colin in Acharn"—James, a minor, eldest orphan son of the third brother John (who was frequently described in the records as "John Campbell of Kinloch" because he was virtually acting as "laird"), was immediately instated as owner by his tutors and guardians, viz. his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of James Burden of Feddal (married 1738), and this before-mentioned Mungo Campbell in Milnrogie! The Retour in which his claim is made "as heir to his *uncle Charles*" is dated January 9, 1747.

The will of this *junior* "John Campbell of Kinloch" was dated September 22, 1744, and confirmed at Dunkeld, May 8, 1747 (his father died 1742), and was given up by Mungo Campbell in Milnrogie, and "Elizabeth Burden, relict of the defunct." To his widow he leaves half the household plenishing and furniture—a long list. Another will, a holograph one, is endorsed with the year of decease "1746 in Milntown of Strathbraan." It is dated January 25, 1746, made and given up by Duncan McLean in Milntown of Strathbraan. In it John is described as "late of Kinloch." It refers merely to small sums owing to him.

It may be as well to add here all that I have besides been able to ascertain about the above John Campbell, next younger brother of Charles "the Exile."

I came across the name first in 1890 in the Reading

¹ The actual date of Mungo's death is not certain:

Room of the British Museum in Lord Rosebery's edition of the "List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion" furnished by Mr. Lewis Hay, Excise Supervisor, Perth (p. 421). The reference runs as follows :

"John Campbell of Kinloch. Abode—Milton of Strathbraan. Parish—Little Dunkeld. County—Perth. Acted as Captain in the Rebel Army. Where now?—Prisoner at Inverness." ¹

Of course I took it for granted that this was the Laird, Charles Campbell's father, never having heard of but one brother, whom I then supposed to be younger than Charles and named "Mungo," and for this name I was really searching.

In a note to p. 546, vol. i, of the Marchioness of Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire*, 1660–1902, published in 1908, we find the following :

"Charles Campbell had succeeded to the property on the death of his elder brother John, who, as a lieutenant in John Roy Stewart's Regiment, had been killed at Culloden (Duke of Atholl's MS. Roll of the '45). Another brother, James, also lost his life there." ²

With reference to this Lady Tullibardine ³ wrote to me December 3, 1908 :

"My authority for stating that one of the brothers killed at Culloden was the Laird, is the Duke of Atholl's MS. Roll of the '45, in which your ancestor is described as 'John Campbell of Kinloch'—but on further

¹ In the whole list were only nine Campbells, including Mungo Campbell "in Milnrogie."

² A mistake. See p. 32.

³ Now the Duchess of Atholl, M.P.

conversation with the Duke on the matter he is not certain if the 'of' in this case implies actual ownership. 'John Campbell of Kinloch' is also mentioned in the Duke's Rental for 1745, but this is, as you say, very probably Charles's father, and in any case he must have succeeded to the property in 1746 on account of John Campbell's death."

We now know that the above is founded on an error; but it makes clear two things—first, that as early as 1745 Mungo, the grandfather, was dead; and secondly, that the third brother, John, was regarded everywhere as the virtual Laird, though only factor for Mungo or Charles. It was not until 1759, as we shall see, that Charles Campbell established his claim to the estates.

Lady Tullibardine afterwards kindly allowed me to see a copy of the Duke's "Roll," and to take notes therefrom. From vol. iii, p. 297, I found that the Atholl Brigade suffered terribly at Culloden, the losses being at about one-half the total on parade. Twenty-two gentlemen from Atholl and the neighbourhood were killed, of whom two served in Roy Stewart's Regiment. The names of these two are given (as killed) in a list made out by General Stewart of Garth, thus:

"Captain John Mc Ewen, son of Mucklie, commanding Grantully's [*sic*] men in Roy Stewart's Regiment, and Lieutenant John Campbell of Kinloch, also with Grantully's men in Roy Stewart's Regiment."

The Atholl Brigade consisted of four battalions (the fourth, however, was never completed), and was composed, not only of the Duke's own followers, but

also of Menzies of Weem's men, under Menzies of Shian, and (it is believed) of Struan's men, under Robertson of Woodshiel. Of the leaders, after the names of the Duke, Lord George Murray and Lord Nairne, follow fifteen other gentlemen, and then :

“ John Campbell of Kinloch, Lieut., Grandtully's men, in Roy Stewart's Regt.

—— Campbell of Tomnagrew,¹ Ensign, do. do. do.

Mungo Campbell, Milnrogie,² Officer, do. do. do.”

The whole list contains 154 names, and includes Charles Campbell of Ballechin and his son, relatives of the Kinlochs through their mother.³ Of the men taken at Carlisle of Roy Stewart's Regiment 23 were Perthshire men, mostly from Strathbraan and Grandtully, many bearing the names of families still dwelling in the Strath.

Likewise, in a list of Highland prisoners taken at the surrender of Carlisle (vol. iii, p. 221) occur :

“ John Crichton, Caplea, Labourer, Roy Stewart's Regt.

James McDuff, Ballachraggan, do. do. do.

James Mcfarlane, Little Trochrie, do. do. do.

John McFarlane, Invercochill, do. do. do.”

All these, and also two others from Drummour, were from “ touns ” or hamlets close about Kinloch House. Indeed the Crichtons still inhabit Cablea, which overlooks Kinloch demesne across the Cochill, and Inver-

¹ A small proprietary, near Kinloch Lodge and Ballachraggan, now held by Duffs or McDuffs.

² See pp. 21, 22.

³ Through the Ballechins they claimed direct descent from James II of Scotland (see Birthbrief).

cochill denotes the few cottages at the junction of the Dunkeld and Aberfeldy roads.

The references are constant throughout the campaign to "Roy Stewart's Regiment"; it was evidently a corps picked for special posts of danger; and from it in many cases "Grandtully and Strathbraan men" are told off for particular work. Thus, a company of them were left behind to hold Carlisle as garrison.

This is how the Duke of Cumberland wrote of them to the Duke of Newcastle:

"BLACKHALL,

"December 30, 1745.

"I wish I could have blooded the soldiers with these Villeins, but it would have cost us many a brave man, and it comes to the same end, as they have no sort of claim to the King's mercy, and I sincerely hope will meet with none." (Public Records Office, London.)

In the Retreat the regiment passed with the Prince's Army *through Amulree* to Tay Bridge, thus going by their own homes; and continued until they formed the centre of the front line at Culloden, between the McLachlans and the Farquharsons.

I may perhaps mention here a little incident which much impressed me when a very young girl.

It was in the year 1871 that my mother, after my father's death, rented for one season the house and shootings at Kinloch, her old home, from her friend George William, 9th Baron Kinnaird, who had purchased it in 1868 from my uncle General Charles Campbell. I accompanied her often on her visits to see old friends amongst the tenants.

We had climbed the stiff brae to Cablea "the grey gap"), opposite the west gate to the avenue, and stood by the flat stone dyke encircling the tiny group of houses, over which a child on tiptoe can peer down on the Aberfeldy road which here winds up Glen Cochill. "Ay!" said old Jock Anderson, a man of over eighty years, who then lived there with his old brother and sister, all unmarried, "many's the time my faither told me how he stood, a wee callant of nine years, keeking ower the wa' in the early dawn, to see the lads gather in silence on the road below, to march ere daybreak ower the hills wi' the young laird to join the Prince's standard at Grandtully! Ay! fifty and mair of them went, the braw lads they were—and hoo many returned?"

Somehow it bridged the years in marvellous fashion to speak with one who had his knowledge of that far-back scene from an eye-witness! By "the young laird" of course Jock Anderson then meant this same John Campbell of whom we have just been hearing the story; but we who listened to his speech, steeped in the family legend, never doubted but that he alluded to my mother's grandfather, Charles "the Exile."

We now know that John Campbell, spite of his name appearing among the killed in the Duke of Atholl's "Roll," and spite of being noted by name and place of abode in the List of Rebels as "prisoner at Inverness," was probably (as said of his cousin Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, in Lord Rosebery's List) "lurking," for a second will of his dated

January 25, 1746, is endorsed with the date of his death (1746), and states that it took place in "Milltown of Strathbraan." "Milltown of Strathbraan" is the English translation of Baile-mhullin (Pall-i-veulan, i.e. town of the mill), the Gaelic name of the little "toun" around the ancient seigneurial mill, still extant, below Kinloch House. By that place-name the country people invariably designated the family. The "lady" of Kinloch, down to my grandmother, was always known as the "Vynegern of Pall-i-veulan" (*Bhantighearna Baile-mhullin*).

Later on we shall see that the site of the Kinloch mansion shifted many times during the centuries, but that latterly it was always near that mill.

Now, before turning to what the records have revealed of the real history of Charles Campbell—known as "the Exile," though apparently a voluntary one—let us just note that a document has been unearthed in the Register House at Edinburgh,¹ which shows that in addition to the two brothers already mentioned—Mungo and John—he had three other and younger brothers and two sisters. In this deed they are described as "brothers and sisters germane," which would seem to imply that they were equally the children of Margaret, third daughter of Charles Steuart of Ballechin; but it is an extraordinary fact that none of them were ever mentioned by Charles's sons, their nephews! The document in question, dated October 9, 1750, is an application, or a "Testament Dative" as it calls itself, on the death of the

¹ Edinburgh Commissariat Register of Testaments, vol. 113, pt. i.

eldest of these five persons, that the survivors should receive their part of a sum of money due to him under a provision of their eldest brother Mungo, dated May 2, 1735, but apparently not registered until June 8, 1756. The name of the deceased is given as "James Campbell, fourth lawful son of deceased John Campbell of Kinloch [who in it is said to have died 'about Candlemas,' 1742], and third lawful brother of the deceased Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, merchant in Perth."

James is stated to have died "at Fort St. David's in the East Indies," upon a day "unknown" in the month of May, 1746, which would go to prove that the statement of Lady Tullibardine (quoted *ante*, p. 26) that "another brother, James, also lost his life at Culloden" cannot be correct, as Culloden was fought in April of the same year.

Then follow the names of the four surviving brothers and sisters—Alexander, William, Jean and Katherine—of whom little further is known, save that Alexander is described as "Surgeon in Dunkeld" in several documents,¹ and that the daughter Jean is known to have been twice married, first to Thomas Miller at Lyndoch, and secondly (November 27, 1753) to Duncan Robertson of Achlicks, Dalchallick, etc. Her two nephews, James and John, sons of her brother John "of Kinloch," are witnesses to a sasine in her favour.²

The claim is apparently for one thousand merks

¹ *The C. C.*, iv. 11; also ii. 147.

² P. R. Perth, vol. xxvi, fol. 181. *The C. C.*, iv. 10. "Moses" Campbell "in Kinloch" is noted as "baillie"!!

Scots money, with arrears of interest for four years, making the total £800. The deed infers that to each surviving brother and sister Mungo also left a certain sum to be paid out of the estate “on the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas (whichever happened next) immediately following the *decease of the first deceiver of the said John Campbell of Kinloch, his father, or of Anna Burden, his own spouse.*” The above is the first reference come across of this lady. The document goes on to say that “the said John Campbell of Kinloch having died first, about Candlemas 1742, *before the said Anna Burden, £133 6s. 8d.* of interest for the four years from that date to James Campbell’s own death had accrued to his estate. The whole implies that the property was considered of considerable value, and it is rather remarkable that the deed must have been drawn out by Mungo *in the lifetime of his father!* Had he so much property of his own as merchant in Perth that he could hand over the family estates to be parcelled out amongst his brothers and sisters? Or does the explanation lie in the then legal disabilities of Papists to hold landed estates, and that his father “John Campbell of Kinloch” (as he is called here) was the one of the family to be disqualified for that reason?

V

CHARLES CAMPBELL, 6TH LAIRD--THE
“EXILE”

WE now come to the facts substantiated of the history of Charles Campbell, 6th Laird of Kinloch, as this is mostly drawn from a copy of a Decreet, dated

February 2, 1759, of the Lords of Council and Session,¹ procured for me by the kindness of Sir Duncan Campbell, Bart., of Barcaldine, in 1911, he having for years previously most kindly assisted me.

It is a long document, but on many points so illuminating that I make no apology for quoting largely from it. The wording and spelling of the original are retained.

“ At Edinburgh, the second day of February 1759,” it begins, “ Anent the summons and action of Reduction . . . before the Lords of Council and Session at the instance of Charles Campbell, now of Kinloch, apparent heir to the deceast Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, his grandfather, John Campbell of Kinloch, his father, and Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, Merchant in Perth, his brother german, and as having right by Disposition from the said Mungo Campbell, his brother, TO ALL and HAILL the four-merk land of Keandloch and pertinents thereof lying in Glenquaich and Sherifffdom of Perth, and ALL and HAILL the town and lands of Ballincroch [? Balanreich], Innerchochill, Cablia Miln, and miln lands of Innerchochill, with the multures and sequalls thereof and lands, Milntown of Innerchochill with the sheallings, grazings and pasturages, and whole privileges and purtenents thereto belonging,² all lying in the parish of Little Dunkeld, Barrony of Strathbraan, and Sherifffdome of Perth, as more particularly described and enumerated in the rights and infeftments thereof,

¹ Register of Acts and Decrees, Durie, vol. 494.

² In the testament of James Campbell (*ante*, p. 31), the estates are enumerated as “ the four-merk lands of Keanloch, lands of Ballenreich, Innerchochill, Miln, &c., Milnlands of Innerchochill, Milntoun of Inverchochill, and others, lying in the parish of Little Dunkeld, Barony of Strathbrand and Sherifffdom of Perth.”

and in the said Disposition in favour of the said Charles Campbell which is dated the second day of May 1735, and registrate in the books of Session the eighth day of June 1756,¹ and to whose great hurt and prejudice the pretended General Service and Infeftment hereafter called for were deduced and expedite . . . and also at the instance of Mungo Campbell of Craigans at Milnrogie,² factor to the said Charles Campbell of Kinloch, conform to factory written and subscribed at Pompei³ [sic] in the goldmines of Brazil [blank day and month] 1751, AGAINST James Campbell, eldest lawful son of the deceast John Campbell, who was brother german of the said Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, and younger brother of the said Charles Campbell, now of Kinloch, pursuer, and the tutors and curators of the said James Campbell, if he any has, . . . [for] compeering before the saids Lords at certain days bygone . . . producing a pretended General Service . . . deduced before the Baillie of the regality of Atholl in favour of the said James Campbell as heir in general to the said Charles Campbell his uncle, dated the 9th day of January 1747 . . . proceeding on the Receipt of Sessine contained in the foresaid Disposition . . . granted by the said Mungo Campbell, Merchant in Perth, to the said Charles Campbell, his brother german, his heirs and substitutes therein mentioned, and to which the said James Campbell pretended to have right by the service aforesaid, which Sasine is dated [blank] and registered at Perth, and that the same be *annulled* . . . and the said pursuer be reponed and restored *in tegrum* against the same for the reasons following:

¹ By Charles Campbell presumably.

² Proves "Mungo Campbell of Craggens" to be identical with "at Milnrogie."

³ First intimation of locality in Brazil.

“ 1. The aforesaid Service is without legal warrant.

“ 2. It proceeded on a false supposition . . . that the pursuer was deceased without issue. . . .”

After giving the name of Mr. David Grame (?) as the pursuer's advocate, the document proceeds to quote the Disposition of Mungo Campbell, the elder brother :

“ WHEREBY for the love, favour and affection which he had and did bear to Charles Campbell in Brazil in America, and John Campbell, merchant in Perth, his brother german, he deponed under certain powers and faculties . . . to and in favour of Charles Campbell . . . his immediate younger brother, and the heirs lawfully to be procreate of his body, whom faillieing to the said John Campbell, his second brother, and the heirs, &c., whom failling to his own nearest heirs or assignys heritably ALL and HAILL the four-merk land of Keandloch, and certain other lands . . . [as before enumerated], which Disposition contains . . . the following clauses, vizt.: ‘ That whereas the said Charles Campbell, the said Mungo's immediate younger brother, was forth of the kingdome, and that the time of his return was uncertain, and that during his absence it would be proper that a fitt person be fixed upon and appointed factor on the said estate, and the said Mungo, having sufficient experience and confidence in the integrity and fitness of the said John Campbell, his second brother, Therefore he appointed him Factor during the absence of the said Charles Campbell forth of the kingdome, with a provision that the said John Campbell was to lay an account of his intromissions with the rents of the said estates, and of his disbursements before the several persons therein particularly named, appointed

by him to be trustees, overseers and managers for the said Charles Campbell during his absence, with power to them to call the said John Campbell to account yearly, or oftner as they should think fit, for his intromissions, and if they found him defective in his management, to remove him therefrom, and to appoint a new factor, but if he faithfully discharged the trust committed to him during the absence of the said Charles Campbell, then he was to have right to the whole yearly free rent of the said estate that should be over and above the payment of the two life-rent provisions therein mentioned, the public burdens and annual rents of certain sums contained in a subscribed list of debts, and he was noways to be accountable to the said Charles on his return for the free excressence, but the said John was during his management obliged to free and relieve the said Charles Campbell, his brother, of the said two life-rent provisions, public annual burdens and annual rents, and which Disposition contains several other provisions with a power to alter and innovate . . . and bears date the 2nd day of May 1735,¹ registered in the books of Session the 8th of June 1756.

"*Item*: Extract of Factory granted by the said Charles Campbell, pursuer, nominating . . . the said Mungo Campbell at Milrogie to be his lawful factor, and in his name to obtain possession of the foresaid estates of Kinloch, which belong to him upon the death of his said father and brother, dated at Pompei [*sic*] in the golden mines of Brazil, the 1st day of May 1751, and regulate in the Sherriff Court Booke of Perth 6th day of July 1753. . . . (Also) the Extract of the General Service of the said James Campbell, deffender as nearest and lawful heir to the (then supposed

¹ I.e. seven years *before* the date (1742) of the death of Mungo's father, John Campbell of Kinloch.

deceast) Charles Campbell, the pursuer, done before the Baillie of the Regality of Atholl upon the 9th of January 1747, and retoured to the Chancery.

“ *Item* : further produced . . . the several writs under-mentioned under the pursuers hand, all posterior to the date of the above service, vizt : Missive Letter signed by the said Charles Campbell, pursuer, dated at Pompee [*sic*] the 2nd day of February 1749, and addressed to John Campbell of Kinloch, his father, to the care of Mr. Mungo Campbell, merchant in Perth ; *Item* : another Missive from the said pursuer dated the 30th day of April 1751 from Pompee in the golden mines of Brazil was addressed to Mr. Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, near to Buchant’s Bridge, *his cousin*, bearing, amongst other things, that he had wrote to his cousin [?] Patrick Bayne of Tindle, and sent a Factory enclosed that he should in his name take possession of his estate ‘ as he did not know of his cousin’s being alive, nor none of his nearest relations, and as he had received from his friend Mr. James Oliphant at Edinburgh a letter giving an account of the death of Tindle, and as he did not know if by virtue of that Factory there was anything done in his name, he therefore did suspend it and impowered his said cousin, Mungo Campbell, to make the best he could for the pursuer’s interest untill he could get his design accomplished. At present he sent him inclosed another Factory annulling the former, . . . and as the said Mungo Campbell advised him that he, the pursuer, was proven dead in this country (vizt. Brazil), his nephew James was served heir to him in general and his brother Mungo, so that present prooff might be given that he was alive and in perfect health, he, by virtue of the foresaid Factory impowered him to obtain brieve from the Exchequer annulling the other, that possession might be given.

in his name and all done in form of law—that five years ago (1746) he was married and had got one son, by name Joseph, and was alive and two years and two months of age.¹

“ *Item* : Another Missive signed by the said Charles Campbell, pursuer, and addressed to the said Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, dated the 6th of October 1754, from Pompee in the golden mines. . . . *Item* : a principal Bill, drawn by the deceast George Gordon, Writer to the Signet, upon and accepted by the said Charles Campbell, pursuer, therein designed ‘ Writer in Edinburgh,’ for five pounds sterling, payable at Whitsunday and Martinmass then next, by equal portions, dated the 4th of December 1727 ;

“ *Item* : Another principal Bill drawn by Alexander Stuart upon and accepted by the said Charles Campbell, pursuer, and addressed to William Marshall, Writer in Edinburgh, dated from Bahia the 8th of May 1730, and which missive, with the other three missives and two accepted bills beforementioned, are all subscribed on the back by the said William Marshall and the Lord Prestongrange, Ordinary to this process, as being relative to the said William Marshall’s oath . . . upon the 20th of January 1759. . . .

“ AND ALL having been at length read, heard and considered by the said Lords . . . they have found . . . the same relevant and proven, and hereby reduce and annul the . . . pretended General Service . . . deduced by the said James Campbell, defender, . . . to have been intrinsically void and null from the beginning . . . and find . . . that the said Charles Campbell . . . is the institute in the . . . disposition from his brother Mungo Campbell, as well as apparent heir to him and his other predecessors. . . . The said James Campbell, defender, was lawfully summoned

¹ Joseph Campbell was therefore born February 1749.

to this action by a messenger-at-arms . . . at the Mercat Cross of Inveraray, head burgh of the Sherriff-dome of Argyle, within which Shire the said James Campbell did then presently reside. . . . In the presence of Lord Prestongrange compared William Marshall, writer in Edinburgh, who being . . . sworn . . . deponed that he was acquainted with Charles Campbell, the pursuer, when at Edinburgh, from about 1723 to 1729, when Mr. Campbell went abroad, and that he had occasion to be perfectly well acquainted with his handwriting, and produced a letter wrote by him to the deponent dated from Bahia the 8th May 1730, and which letter is marked by the deponent and the Lord Ordinary. . . .”

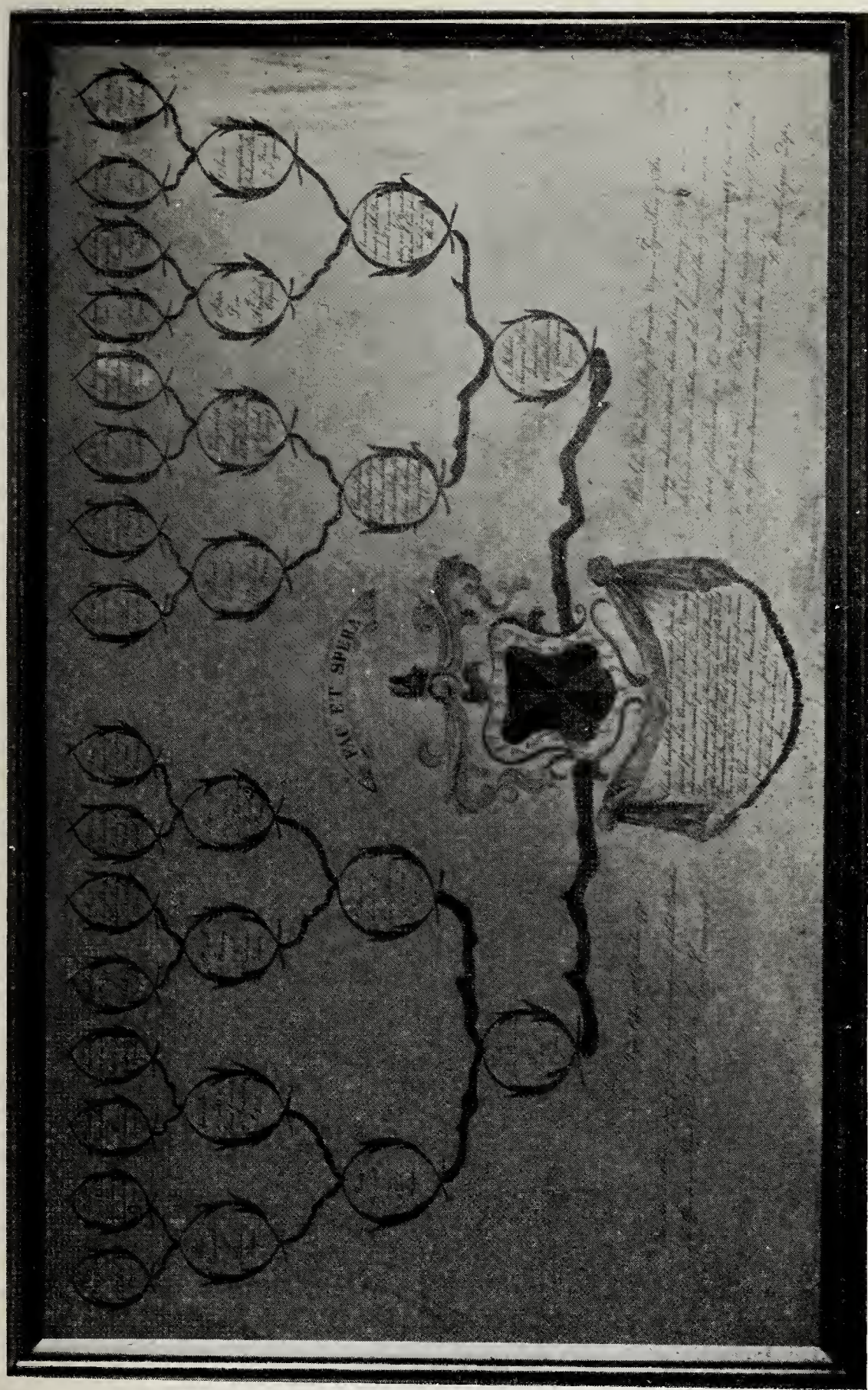
He likewise identified the other missives in the case as being in the handwriting of Charles Campbell. Alexander Stuart of Kinnaird also swore to the handwriting, and stated that Charles Campbell went abroad at the end of 1729 or in 1730, and as one of the bills was in his favour he had lately recovered the amount from Charles Campbell's Factor !¹

There is a sasine to Mungo Campbell of Craggans (or Milnrogie) as Attorney for Charles Campbell of Kinloch, dated September 24, 1760, which shows that at that date he was still absent from the country²; and the Birthbrief, or “Proof of Gentility,” furnished to him by Lyon-King-of-Arms to establish his genealogy, was not issued to him until 1776, which makes

¹ Dated March 2, 1759. Signed P. Gibsons. Register of Acts and Decrees. Durie, vol. 494.

The Infestment of Charles Campbell of Kinloch in the properties of Keandloch, &c., by Lord “Breadalbain” is dated December 26, 1759, in the Perth Register, vol. xxviii, p. 40.

² Noted by Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, Bart.



REPRODUCTION OF BIRTHBRIEF ISSUED TO CHARLES CAMPBELL OF KINLOCH BY THE LORD
LYON-KING-OF-ARMS, SEPTEMBER 1776.



it probable that his actual return was some years after his claim was established.

One more extract from "Indexes of Services of Heirs in Scotland since 1700," furnished by Mr. John Christie: "James Campbell, served Heir-General to his uncle Charles Campbell, brother of Mungo Campbell of Kinloch, Merchant in Perth—9th Jan. 1747. Recorded 20th January 1747."

VI

CHARLES CAMPBELL, 6TH LAIRD (*continued*)

THE foregoing gives uncontrovertible proof of the following new facts:

1. That Charles Campbell succeeded to the family estates *as heir to his elder brother Mungo Campbell* of Kinloch, Merchant in Perth.

2. That his brother Mungo had executed on May 2, 1735, though not registered in the books of Session until June 8, 1756, a Disposition (apparently during the lifetime of his grandfather—whose will was not proved until May 5, 1737¹—and of his father John Campbell²) in favour of his brother Charles (described as "his immediate younger brother"), who is mentioned in it as "forth of the kingdome" at that date, and the time of his return uncertain, and appointing the third brother John as factor of Kinloch, under trustees, until Charles's return.

3. That among the provisions of this "disposition" was the payment of certain sums of money to *three*

¹ Mr. J. Christie.

² Candlemas, 1742.

other younger brothers and two sisters, *after* the death of Mungo's *father*, John Campbell, and Mungo's wife, Anna Burden. From this it would appear that John Campbell, father of Mungo, who married Margaret Steuart of Ballechin in 1702, never held possession of the Kinloch property. We know¹ that there is no evidence of the Kinloch estates ever being entailed, and from the dates—if Mungo the 4th Laird died in 1737—they must have passed directly from him to his grandson, the younger Mungo?

We will refer to this point later.

4. Can it be that Mungo the 5th Laird's own health was precarious, and that had it not been for the privations of the '45, it was never anticipated that he would outlive his brother John?

5. The date of Charles Campbell's leaving Scotland was 1729, sixteen years *before* the '45, and from 1723-9 he was a "Writer in Edinburgh," and already about twenty-five years of age when he sailed for Brazil.²

6. He is next heard of at Bahia, in Brazil, in 1730. No mention whatever is made of Oporto or Portugal.

7. A silence of many years (perhaps nineteen), and then in 1749—addressing his letter "c/o Mr. Mungo Campbell, merchant in Perth"—he writes to his father (dead in 1742, and Mungo in 1747).

8. Receiving no reply, he writes this time to a cousin, (?) Patrick Bayne of Tindle, apparently in 1750 or 1751, enclosing a "factory" or power-of-attorney to act for him in taking possession of his

¹ Mr. J. Christie.

² His father married in 1702. He was the second son.

estate,¹ as he could not find out which of his relatives were alive, or hear anything of Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, evidently looked on as the "man of business" of the family! Then, hearing from a friend (Mr. James Oliphant of Edinburgh) of Tindle's death, he writes to *revoke* this factory, in desperation to—

9. —his cousin Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie, near Buchant's Bridge, enclosing a fresh factory for Mungo to act as his factor, and do the best for him. This missive is dated April 30, 1751, and bears internal evidence that it is in response to one from Milnrogie telling him that he was asserted to be *dead*, and that his nephew, James Campbell, had been served his heir general!

10. In this same letter he announces his marriage in 1746! Does not give the lady's name, but says that his eldest boy, Joseph, was born in February 1749.

11. Another letter to Mungo Campbell, Milnrogie, dated 6th October 1754.

12. All the above are written from Pompêo, "in the gold mines of Brazil," where he evidently had been residing many years.

Of "Pompêo village" (writes Sir Richard Burton in his *Highlands of the Brazil*, vol. i, p. 438, speaking of the neighbourhood of Sabará, in the province of Minas Gerães), "often mentioned by travellers, a wretched chapel and broken walls are all that remain of its old magnificence. Caldcleugh found on the right bank of the streamlet [Macahúbas River?] . . . veins of quartz, often auriferous. Beyond Pompêo on the left still rises the old Cuiabá Company's

¹ Showing that he had learnt of his father's and brother's deaths.

Casa Grande . . . the workings belong mostly to the Vaz family.” Dr. Gunning¹ was manager for some time after 1850.

13. The litigation concerning Charles’s succession to the Kinloch estates lasted from 1747 until the judgment was given in his favour on March 2, 1759.

14. No question of religious faith is raised in this law-plea. Charles was a Roman Catholic, had married a Roman Catholic, and his children were brought up in that faith. The family tradition held that as at that date the laws against Catholics holding land were still in force—it was not until 1793 that the Catholic Relief Bill *for Scotland* was introduced—it was by right of being Protestant heir of entail that James Campbell kept his uncle out of the property. But nothing of all this is to be seen in the pleadings, though the religious faith of the Kinlochs has much to do with their history, as had also their political sympathies, for the Campbells, as a whole, were a Whig clan.

Whether the Kinlochs as a family were Roman Catholics is a moot point. We have seen that John, 3rd Laird, was an Elder of Kenmore Kirk in 1661, and his daughter Colian was baptised there on July 22, 1655, and it seems unlikely that his son Mungo, 4th Laird, married to Catherine Murray of Ardbenie, would have been selected as Chamberlain to the Earl of Breadalbane for over forty years if he also were not a Protestant.

¹ My brother, Rear-Admiral S. H. M. Login, when a midshipman in H.M.S. *Pylades*, in 1869, made the acquaintance of Dr. Gunning at Petropolis, but knew nothing of this link with the family history !

But the fact that this last-named's son married a daughter of such a rigidly Roman Catholic family as Steuart of Ballechin may give a clue to the reason why he was excluded from possession of the estates, and it was his uncle Charles Campbell of Ballechin's company that the younger John Campbell joined at the hoisting of the standard at Grantully Castle in 1745.

Charles Campbell of Kinloch, whatever faith he was brought up in, lived and died a member of the Roman Church, and his children were strictly Roman until they broke away. Maybe in this direction lies the explanation of the complete severance of connection with Charles's younger brothers and sisters in the next generation ?

To return to Charles Campbell's story.

It is evident that the Decreet was given and his succession secured while he was still absent from the kingdom. The next point to elucidate is the date of his return.

The Birthbrief or "Proof of Gentility," drawn out by the Lyon-King-of-Arms, whereof copy is annexed, was granted to him in the year 1776, and it seems reasonable to suppose that this would only be given on personal application.

The only testimony to the date of his return is to be found in the following extract from the *Old Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vi (1793), under Little Dunkeld parish :

"The Rev. John Robertson, the then minister, speaking of longevity in the parish, says : ' Catherine

Maclean, who died about five years ago, at the age of 103. This woman lived near the mansion of the late Charles Campbell, Esq., of Kinloch. He had passed 50 years of his life at Pompeio in Brazil, and returned to his native country at the age of 79. She perfectly recognised him at the first glance, though she was then about 98 years of age. Mr. Campbell himself lived on his estate here for six years after his return, in vigorous health, and with unimpaired faculties, when he died unexpectedly in consequence of having over-heated himself walking one day on the hills.”¹

If Mr. Robertson² wrote in 1793 this would establish that Catherine Maclean died in 1788 and Charles Campbell in 1789, and that he returned to Scotland in 1783 having left it in 1733. This last date, however, we can correct by the Decreet. It was 1729 when he left Scotland, and therefore about 1779 when he returned from Brazil. Mr. Robertson must be inaccurate upon some point, for four years earlier than he says would bring Charles's birth before his parents' marriage in 1702 !

With reference to the Rev. John Robertson's dates Mr. John Christie pointed out³ that, while the volume of the *Statistical Account of Scotland* containing this notice (vol. vi) was *published* in 1793, the separate accounts of the parishes themselves were in all prob-

¹ The above is also quoted on September 7, 1906, by Mr. Francis J. Grant, Rothesay Herald, Lyon Office. He infers from it that Charles Campbell died 1790.

² The Rev. John Robertson was minister of Little Dunkeld from 1768 to 1805.

³ Letter, April 6, 1904.

ability written some years previously, as at that period they are all undated.

VII

THE LANDS OF KINLOCH

WITH regard to the extent of the Kinloch lands at this period we have noted what is said of them in the "Decreet" and in the "Testament" of James Campbell (p. 34). It may be well here just to state what has been said by Mr. Christie, who was well acquainted with the records of the Breadalbane estates, kept until now at Taymouth Castle.

"The Kinlochs," he remarks,¹ "never held lands—anyhow *in fee*—to the *west* of Loch Freuchie, or of the Braan."

"Kinloch," or Keandloch, simply signifies "head of the loch," and is a place-name common all over Scotland, and especially in Perthshire. The Keandloch particularly associated with this family is on the east side of Loch Freuchie (famous for its trout), and there the original seat of the family was, and the remains of it can still be traced in some old farm-buildings. Later on, tradition says, the Kinloch Campbells built their dwelling lower down the Strath at the farther angle of the property, right on the banks of the river where the Cochill Burn joins the Braan, and this was still known by the country-folk at the close of the nineteenth century as the site of "Castle Campbell." Thence they moved to Milntown or "Pall-i-veulan," and only in more recent

¹ Letter, April 6, 1904.

times to the brae above, where the modern house stands. It was first known as "Kinloch Lodge."

There was another Kinloch on the *west* side of Freuchie, known variously as Kinlochdow, Kinlochvel-Kinbothie, or Lynemoir, close to Loch Freuchie and Achnafauld, which made matters more confusing. But Achnafauld, with the lands around it, had anciently belonged to the Ruthven family, from whom it passed to the Drummonds, Lords Maddertie, and the Earls of Tullibardine had rights over the property. This Kinloch, with other lands, passed from John, Lord Maddertie in 1636 to the Rev. William Menzies, minister of Kenmore, and first laird of Wester Shian of his name. We find his son James, on May 18, 1659, served his heir in Wester Shian, "the lands of Auchnarvardis, *Kinloch* and Balnagit." Shian Menzies—said to be the prototype of "Fergus MacIvor" in *Waverley*—held it till 1745, when it fell into the hands of the Earl of Breadalbane.¹

As regards Kinloch to the *east* of Freuchie, there is a curious entry in the Retours of Services of Heirs of the date of March 4, 1653, to the effect that Sir James Campbell of Lawers, Knight, was served heir to his father, Sir Mungo Campbell of Lawers, Knight, to "the lands of *Keandloch* Tirbroches (i.e. Turrerichs) and Tirrochardy (Tirchardie) with milns, lochs, fishings, ylls, &c., in the lordship of Apnadaill." This, according to Mr. Christie, could only refer to the "superiority" as far as Kinloch was concerned, since John Campbell, 1st Laird of Kinloch, was already in possession of the lands *before* 1648.

¹ Mr. J. Christie, letter, April 6, 1904.



F. Richardson.]

KINLOCH LODGE, PERTHSHIRE, 1830.

In later years there were several sales and exchanges of lands between my grandfather and my uncle General Charles Campbell and the contemporary Earl or Marquess of Breadalbane. The marches of the properties have now for many years been near Loch-na-Craig on the Aberfeldy road, but there must have been, besides the Perth town-house,¹ other property in the Perth direction, since on June 13, 1842, General Charles Campbell is served heir to his father, who died April 2, 1839, "in Kinloch, &c. . . . Densland, &c. . . . in and near Auchterarder, Kingseat, &c. . . . Perthshire." (Recorded July 7, 1842.)²

The chapel at Shian, within the ruins of whose building—marked now with a railing—it was a tradition in the Kinloch family that they alone had the *right* of burial, other dead lying in the graveyard outside, lies on a slight eminence near the house of Easter Shian, at the entrance of Glen Quaich. A Roman Catholic member of the Kinloch family has seen it stated in a book on Perthshire that occasional masses were still celebrated in the building up to the beginning of the nineteenth century by a priest who came over the hills from the direction of Kenmore. But I have been unable to find any corroboration of this statement, which would certainly go to prove that the Kinloch family had been constantly of the Romish communion. On the other hand the last Roman Catholic burial there, so far as I know, was that of my great-grandfather Charles Campbell of Kinloch.

¹ The family lived for part of the year in the Perth town-house, and my mother was born there in 1820.

² Mr. J. Christie.

This is what Mr. Christie—whose acquaintance with the history of Kenmore parish may be taken as superior to that of anyone of this generation—says : ¹

“ Since 1561 I believe that the district around Kenmore has been perfectly free of Roman Catholics down to our own time. . . . In 1796 the minister writes : ‘ In this parish are no sectaries of any denomination whatever.’ And there can be no question but that the Chapel at Shian . . . belonged to the Kirk at Kenmore. If Roman Priests had been in the habit of visiting Glenquaich they must have come from the direction of either Dunkeld or Crieff. . . . How the Campbells of Kinloch could have the exclusive right of burial within the Chapel I do not know, unless it was given to them by Campbell of Lawers . . . the Kinlochs associations lay Kenmore ways, and that might explain John 3rd Laird being elder of that Kirk in 1660. Moreover he may have held a wadset in the parish—residence in another would not debar him. . . . I came across a bundle of letters from Menzies of Shian (then Chamberlain to Sir Robert Menzies of Menzies ²) dated from Farlayer, opposite Bolfracks, just at the time when he must have been taking an active part in the Rising of ’45. They were about the erection of the Church at Amulree, in which he took a keen interest, directing the minister at Amulree how many ‘ chopins of ale ’ to give the lime-carriers from Breadalbane, &c. The minister tells how the masons started to ‘ win ’ the stones at 5 o’clock on the afternoon of April 8, 1745. . . . It was finished in 1746. Tay Bridge at Aberfeldy had been built by Wade in 1733 of fir from the Black Wood of Ran-

¹ Letter, March 6, 1904.

² I myself was born in Castle Menzies.

noch, which belonged to Struan Robertson. Huge beams of it left over, lay derelict on the banks of the river. Such of it as escaped the wives of Aberfeldy (who seized on it for firewood—Rannoch pine was noted as an illuminant!)—was dragged bodily over the hills to Amulree by horses chained to the great logs. When the gallery of Amulree Kirk was altered some years back, I had a piece forwarded to me by one of the tenants' carts coming over. Two or three copper pennies of the date of about 1745 were found in the chinks.

“ This shows that by 1745 the little Chapel at Shian had got into a ruinous state, and was unfit for public worship, and a church was therefore erected in a more central position at the head of Strathbraan.

“ As to the Menzieses of Wester Shian—they held these lands from 1636, down to the time of Culloden, to which Shian Menzies led 300 of the clan, and lost his estate. . . . The family was reputed to be descended from the House of Weem, through the Menzieses of Roro, in Glenlyon. . . . I know that Breadalbane bought from Menzies of Shian Ballinleckin, Achnavade, Croftintinnan, Croftinald, Amulree, and Lynemore. If the ‘ Kinlochs ’ ever held these lands, it would have to be before Shian Menzies, or else in wadset from him. . . . I have the lists of those evicted from Glenquaich in 1832 and 1833, and who went to America—over 100 souls! Achnafauld is mentioned as on the Breadalbane property, and though others from the two Garrows, Tirchardie and Shian properties are said to have joined the party, no mention is made of Kinloch.”

The above was written by Mr. Christie in reply to recollections my mother had in her girlhood of the “ great evictions and exodus ” from Glenquaich, and

(so she said) of tenants of *her brother* going from Achnafauld.

“ They, however, possessed *North Amulree* ” (where stands the present post-office), he continues, “ and I recollect passing through my hands the 99-years’ lease granted by your grandfather to John Dow, his factor.¹

“ I find that on June 12, 1846, General Charles Campbell (your uncle) sold to the trustees of the 1st Marquess of Breadalbane, the following portions of his estate :

“ The 4-merkland of Keandloch, the lands of Ballenreoch, and that part of the cow-pasture of Invercochil on the west side of the Fender [Fiander], and the exclusive right to Loch Fender. These lands were sub-divided, and lay in two parishes, as follows : Croft-na-fighag, Wester Kinloch, Easter Kinloch—in Dull parish ; Ballinlochan, North Amulree and Tomeor, Ballinreigh, Newton of Ballinreigh—in Little Dunkeld parish.

“ The remaining portion, now belonging to the Bullocks,² was also in Little Dunkeld parish. . . . The Kinloch lands were held from Lawers until in 1686 Sir James Campbell of Lawers disposed of the *feu-rights* to the 1st Earl of Breadalbane, to whom and to his successors the Campbells of Kinloch continued to pay the annual feu-duty of 18 pounds, 13 shillings, and fourpence Scots, or £1 11s. 1½d. . . .

“ The coat-of-arms and crest of the Kinloch Campbells³ . . . on the Birthbrief, I think I have seen before

¹ The lease expired about 1900, when Miss Christina Dow, the daughter, was still living there. There were Dows of Tirchardie from 1620.

² Consisting of about 4,000 acres.

³ As appears on cover of this book.

on the ceiling of the Barons' Hall at Taymouth. I remember a 'boar's-head "erected," and a coat with a gyronny-of-eight, or-and-sable, within a bordure'—yours, I see, is *countervair*! ¹ I notice that the arms of Campbell of Lawers are also a gyronny-of-eight, sable-and-or, within a bordure *vair*; Earl of Loudoun, gyronny-of-eight, gules-and-ermine; ² Campbell of Lawers, third son of James, Earl of Loudoun, has this last also, with a crescent on the centre. Except on the Birthbrief none of the Campbells of Kinloch seem to have registered arms since 1672, the year the old Registers were burned.

"Were the Kinloch bordure simply *vair* it would be the same as the old Lawers shield, and no coats-of-arms are alike." ³

VIII

CHARLES CAMPBELL'S PORTUGUESE WIFE

WE now come to a point on which the Decreet sheds no light :

Who was the lady whom Charles Campbell married?

The Birthbrief gives the name simply as—"Euphrosia Maria Ferreira"!

Tradition adds that she claimed descent or con-

¹ Letter, April 7, 1904.

² This is how the Heralds' College in 1854 impaled my mother's coat-of-arms on my father's shield.

³ The tartan worn by the Campbells of Kinloch is the original plain "black" tartan adopted by the Black Watch when raised by the Earl of Loudoun. It forms the ground of all the Campbell tartans, and is without the extra stripes used by the Argyll, Breadalbane or Cawdor branches. The liveries were brown-and-yellow, and the badge, of course, the "sweet-gale."

nection with the Braganza (or Royal) family of Portugal, was a niece of the Bishop of Oporto, and a novice or postulant at the time of the marriage, which was clandestine (see p. 6).

Many years have passed in fruitless search to elucidate this matter by my brother, myself and one of my cousins,¹ aided by the extraordinary kindness of friends and (personally unknown) strangers in various parts of the world.

As it is only latterly (since the Decreet was unearthed) that any clue to the *date* of the marriage was obtainable the search was well-nigh hopeless. But now that the date is *fixed*, the *locality* has grown more nebulous, since throughout all the long-winded verbosity of the Decreet there is no mention of Charles Campbell having himself ever been in Oporto, and it was to that ancient episcopal city that our efforts were chiefly directed !

My brother, Admiral Login, when a captain in command of H.M. battleship *Repulse*, was in December 1900, with the Admirals and Captains of the Channel Fleet, fêted at the Ajuda Palace near Lisbon, by Dom Carlos and Queen Amélie, then King and Queen of Portugal. On that occasion he made the acquaintance of Count Bertandos,² one of the Royal Chamberlains, a keen genealogist, and head of an ancient noble house, having estates at Ponte do Lima, in the province of Minho, of which Oporto is the chief town. My brother's story of his Portuguese great-grand-

¹ Miss Lena Campbell Penney.

² Gonçalo Pereira da Silva de Sousa de Meneges, Conde de Bertandos ; afterwards President of the Chamber of Peers;

mother greatly interested the Count, and from that date his efforts have been untiring to try and solve the question. He started inquiries in the episcopal library at Oporto.

Meanwhile in Rome in 1907 Miss Penney, through the "Marquis McSwiney,"¹ one of the Papal Chamberlains, got into communication with the Rev. Father Julio Albino Ferreira, Private Secretary to the Bishop of Oporto, who wrote more than one letter on the subject, and consulted also with Count Bertandos.

The difficulty of the search both there and in Brazil, as both these gentlemen pointed out, lay in the fact that only the name "Ferreira" (a very ordinary one among Portuguese) was given in the Birthbrief, or used in naming my aunt, Mrs. White, after her grandmother; and as in Portugal it is customary to retain in addition, for purposes of identification, the surnames of female ancestresses, it was impossible to say whether "Ferreira" was her father's or her mother's family name, and this made the task of tracing her origin infinitely more onerous.

Then again, at this time the date of the marriage was not ascertained, and Charles (following tradition) was believed to have left Scotland only *after* Culloden. Researches in the British Museum Reading-room had already elicited the fact that the occupants of the See of Oporto at this period were :

1741-52. Dom José Maria de Fonseca e Evora : a Franciscan.

¹ Afterwards somewhat notorious ! "Mac Swiney, Marquez de Maskonaglas" he is described in this correspondence.

1752-6. The See administered by Dom João¹ da Silva Ferreira, Bishop of Tangier, until the consecration in

1757-70 of Dom Anton da Sousa.

1770-1. Dom Alexius de Miranda Enriquez.

1771-93. Dom Johan Rafael de Mendoza.

The name "Ferreira" naturally focussed attention. This Bishop, it was found, was born in the parish of Santa Lucreina, near the town of Familicus, then a very small place. He was of a poor family: his father was John (João) da Silva, and his mother Maria Ferreira. They died when he was yet a child, and he was educated at a college, or charitable institution for orphans, in Oporto. Near Familicus, however, is the castle of the family of Ferreira d'Éçu, afterwards Counts Cavalleiros, lineal descendants of Prince John, son of Pedro I and Iñez de Castro. If, by any chance, the Bishop's mother was connected with *that* family, says Count Bertiandos (himself linked with it by marriage), there would be substantial grounds for the legend of her Braganza ancestry! Of Dom João da Silva Ferreira moreover, Padre Julio Albino Ferreira² informed Miss Penney³ that he had two brothers named Bento and Manuel, the former a doctor; the latter held an office at Court, was a Captain in the Army, and married a lady of high rank. The marriage, however, was clandestine, and never entered on the registers! After the marriage, Dom João V conferred upon the young couple estates in Brazil,

¹ Gams' Catalogue of Catholic Bishops gives his name as "Josefus."

² Private Secretary to Bishop of Oporto 1909.

³ Letter, February 8, 1909.

whither they emigrated !¹ To this Count Bertandos adds that the lady was an heiress of a very good house, Torre di Sontello, near Braga, whose present representative—Viscount di Torre de Sontello—was an intimate friend of his, and he would question him on the matter.²

Count Bertandos mentioned that his own ward and nephew, Count Anrova, had as aunt by marriage (Countess Anrova) aged ninety-five, a descendant of one of the nephews of Bishop Ferreira. She lives at Ponte do Lima in her nephew's house.

But all this theory was evolved before the date of Charles Campbell's marriage was definitely fixed as 1746, or six years before Dom João da Silva Ferreira administered the diocese ! Still it does not prevent his having been the Bishop to whom both Gregory and John Campbell were sent by their father to supervise their education for the priesthood. Nevertheless, as John (or Juan) was not born until 1762, his sojourn in Oporto could not well have been previous to 1778 !

The preceding Bishop—Dom José Maria de Fonseca e Evora, 1741-52—was a very great personage, a diplomat and noted savant ; member of most of the Portuguese Academies, and consulted by both the King of Portugal and the Pope. He held high office in the Church, and was for a long time resident in Rome as Ambassador to the Papal Court. He founded a monastery for Portuguese monks on the shores of

¹ This is certainly a curious coincidence ! Could Charles Campbell's wife have been a *daughter* of this couple ?

² Later (June 15, 1914) he did so, and was convinced that, if on the right track, Doña Euphrosia must have been *daughter* of *another* brother or sister.

Lake Albano, which has quite lately been taken over by the "Beda" (or English College) in Rome.¹ All this *before* he was made Bishop of Oporto.

There is a tradition, alluded to by the monks of the above monastery, that the Bishop himself was a natural son of John V of Portugal, but this story Count Bertandos scoffs at, as they must have been both of the same age! The Bishop, however, had a sister married to Diego Ribeiro de Arruda, and their daughter—niece of the Bishop—married Dom Joaquim Eugenio di Lucena Almeida e Novonha, descendant of Count Faro, an authentic branch of the Braganza stock.

The archives of the convents in and around Oporto have been searched without result for the name of Doña Euphrosia (or Euphrogia), and the idea has been suggested that perhaps the lady changed her name on sailing for the southern hemisphere? The tracing of Gregory, the son destined for the priesthood, might be productive of better results, only unfortunately this point was not pressed home in the inquiries.

Two or three curious cases of nuns obtaining dispensation from their vows after long years are given by the good Padre Julio Albino Ferreira, and one of them sounds strangely apposite, but the only date given is much later than the time of Charles Campbell's marriage.

In 1774² a nun named Joanna is mentioned as

¹ Miss Penney paid a visit (by permission) to this monastery, and heard a great part of the above (since corroborated by Count Bertandos) on the spot.

² Letter from Dom J. Albino Ferreira to the Marquez MacSwiney, December 19, 1907.

having been professed against her will, *as she said*. Her father was "Dezembargador da Relaçad" of the City, and her *uncle*, a Captain in the Army (*do evercito*). This uncle called himself "Ferreira," though neither she nor her father went by that name. After the death of her father she still remained in the same convent. Nevertheless, when many years had passed she obtained the annulment of her vows by a Papal Brief, and that done she lived a secular life. Was it possible that this lady, asks the worthy Padre, met Charles Campbell while she was still in the convent, and that he advised the annulling of her vows in order to marry her? The process makes no mention of what became of her afterwards. She made allegations of violence against her father, and the Diocesan advised the Abbess to bring Joanna to a sense of her own duties and obligations. The date given is very much later than that of Charles's marriage, but these Papal Dispensations sometimes took many years to complete their formalities.

Two relics of my great-grandmother are in my possession—the light wooden frame of a tambourine, beautifully painted, and a pair of castanets!

IX

THE CHILDREN OF CHARLES THE "EXILE"

To pass on to the history of Charles's sons and daughters.

No documents have been found to endorse the tradition regarding José's death; merely the bald notice in the Service of Heirs:

" July 13th, 1802. John Campbell was served Heir of General Provision to his brother, Joseph Campbell of Kinloch. Recorded 7th August, 1802." ¹

Also : "*Death.* At Milntown. Joseph Campbell, Esq^{re}. of Kinloch. March 27, 1802." ²

" Will of Joseph Campbell of Kinloch—or rather ' Warrant taken out for Testament of above—John Campbell of Kinloch sole executor (described in document as 'only brother germane of deceased' with the 'only' erased !). Security Charles Blair, merchant in Dunkeld. Warrant dated January 15th, 1803. Decease said to have taken place 1802, month blank. Warrant of Patrick Stewart, Dyer, Commissary of Dunkeld, dated Jan. 1st, 1803."

In 1905 or 1906 I was shown the only existing relic known of my grand-uncle, Gregory Campbell, son of Charles, and brother of Joseph and of my grandfather, John Campbell of Kinloch, which contains distinct evidence that he was living at a date long subsequent to that at which it was given out that he had been lost at sea !

This is a small, stumpy Book of Offices to the Blessed Virgin, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches in size, bound in black calf, with gilt tooling and gilt-edged leaves, culled from the writings of St. Francis de Sales and Father Lorenzo Scupoli ; and published with Italian notes and rubrics in Venice 1771. It was then in the possession of my cousin, Mr. José Campbell Penney, Edinburgh. The first pages are slightly torn at the edges, and the binding worn, but it shows few signs of use. The

¹ Mr. J. Christie.

² Sir D. Campbell from Registers.

flyleaf is missing, but the next page has apparently at some time been secured to the outer leaf with red sealing-wax, to conceal an entry written there, which runs as follows, in Brazilian-Portuguese :

“ On the 9th of October 1777 Gregory Campbell departed from Lisbon ¹ for the Rio de Janeiro in the ship *S. John Nepomuk and S. Francis de Paula*, Captain Vitorio Gonçalves Ruas—and arrived at the Rio de Janeiro on the 28th of December of the same year [being] 81 days of journey, and arrived at the Mines ² on the 27th of January, 1778.” ³

Here was positive proof that Gregory had not died at sea, as stated, but had made his way back to Brazil ! Unless he had arrived there *after* his father and brothers had left, why was it necessary to write the fact down ? and why had the statement been set down in so secretive a manner ? Another document unearthed later may help towards solving the mystery.

On February 21, 1907, Mr. J. H. Mayne Campbell, of the Easter Shian family, Glenquaich, kindly favoured me with a transcript of a contemporary copy of a letter written in 1802, together with a translation

¹ Correctly “ Levico Porto,” i.e. the outer port of Oporto.

² Meaning “ Minas Gerães,” the province.

³ The above translation was made for me in the British Museum. The original text runs: “ A nove de Outubro de 1777 partio Gregorio Campbell de L^o p^o o R^o de Janr^o no navio São João Nepomuceno e São Fran^{co} de Paula* Capom Vitorio Gonçalves Ruas e chegou ao R^o de Janr^o a 28 de Dezembro do m^{mo} anno [illegible] 81 d^{as} de viagem e chegou a las Minas a 27 de Janr. de 1778.”

* From this point in different ink and less-educated handwriting.

A nove de Outubro
 de 1777 por
 Ho. Gregorio Campbello
 Ce. W. de L. p. 1042.
 De Jann. na nave
~~de Jann. na nave~~ São João
 de pomiceira, ce. 10
 Fran. de Paula
 Cap. Vitorio Gork
 Calves Pruas
 Chegou ao Pi.
 de Jann. a 28 de De
 Zembre do m. anno
 m. 84 8. de
 age m. e chegou a
 Minas a 27 de Jann. de 1778

FACSIMILE OF FLYLEAF OF GREGORY CAMPBELL'S
 "BOOK OF OFFICES."



of the same date of a Portuguese letter of 1796, both of which were in the collections of the late Alexander Thomson Grant, The Red House, Wemyss Castle.

" Letter from Mr. Wm. Stewart, Writer, Perth, to Mr. Thos. Fergusson, Writer, Edinburgh. "

" PERTH,
" September 6, 1802.

" DEAR SIR,

" I received your letter inclosing a copy of the Memorial for Lord Breadalbane respecting the titles of Kinloch, which I immediately transmitted to Captain Campbell, whom I have since seen, and who informs me that his brother Gregory died several years ago, of which circumstance both he, and his brother the late Joseph Campbell were informed by Letters from the Brazils at the time. The letter to John is lost, and cannot be found ; but fortunately the one to Joseph is got, and I now inclose it. It is written in the Portuguese Language, but you can easily get it translated into English—That part of it indeed which regards the death of Gregory is easily read.

" I suppose you will send a copy of this letter to Lord Breadalbane and Sir George Stewart's men of business, and I think it should remove all doubt, as John is now *heir* to his brother Joseph, and cannot be looked upon as a *Singular Successor*, nor pay for his entry in that character.—It is necessary for many reasons that John's titles should be compleated by Infestment as soon as possible, and he begs that there may be no delay in communicating the death of Gregory.—And I have to request you'll write me the moment you hear from Mr. John Campbell and Mr. McDonald in answer to the communication.

" I am, &c."

" Translation (of 1802) of the above-mentd. Porteguisse Letter.

" TOWN OF SABARÁ,

" 15 April, 1796.

" MR. JOSEPH CAMPBELL,

" Primo Mto. withall my Heart, wishing you all the happiness possible, in Company with his Sister and Friends of this Country.

" For my own part I hope never [? never hope] to see you in this Country, for the reason that I see It is more than four years that you forgot to write to your own Friends of this country: Since his Mother died¹ his Sister Miss Mary never received but one letter from you, Miss Mary for about two months was very uneasy giving herself to melancholy, having notice of the death of her brother Gregory in the house of Dr. Hientiliano [? or 'K'] on the 24th of January of a malignant fever.

" I desire very much to know if his brother John is studying medicine in Edinburgh, have the goodness to tell him that he is precisely to write to his Friends in this Country.

" D^s G.M^s An^s

of

" Primo M^{to} do C.,

" JOZÉ RODRIGUEZ MAYA."²

As soon as this clue was received, as to the locality in Brazil to which to direct inquiries, and the actual year of Charles Campbell's marriage ascertained, Sir Duncan Campbell very kindly wrote to Sir W. Haggard, then the British Minister at Rio de Janeiro, telling

¹ Is it possible that Doña Euphrosia survived her husband?

² Town of Sabará, Minas Gerães, Brazil (lat. 19° 52' S.; long. 43° 32' W.), about 200 miles to north of Rio de Janeiro.

the whole story, and asking if it was possible to have the records at Sabará searched for any further traces of Charles Campbell's descendants?

A reply was received April 29, 1912, stating that a certain Mr. Rochfort was prepared to do what was required. The investigation would take about four weeks, and the fee asked was £200. As this amount was more than any members of the family were then inclined to advance for the purpose, the matter has remained in abeyance.

It will be observed that though the letter from Sabará in 1796 speaks of Charles's sister in religion as "Miss Mary," no mention whatever is made of the married sister "Anna," or of her husband, unless the "Dr. Hientiliano" referred to was Gregory's brother-in-law?

X

JOHN CAMPBELL, 8TH LAIRD—HIS CHILDREN

THE only remaining announcements to insert here, culled from the official records at the Register House, Edinburgh, are the following:

"*Marriage.* At Edinburgh. John Campbell, Esq., of Kinloch, Perthshire, to Miss Ann Trapaud Campbell, fourth daughter of the late John Campbell, Esq., of Melford, Lieut.-Governor of Fort George, March 29, 1804."

"*Birth.* At —, Mrs. Campbell, of Kinloch, a daughter, January 11, 1805."

This last may possibly refer to the birth of my mother's eldest sister, christened "George Colin

Lorne," after an uncle killed in India at the Battle of Assaye. She married Lieutenant James Jarvis, R.N., in 1831.

"*Service of Heirs.* June 13, 1842. Charles Campbell was served Heir Special to his father, John Campbell of Kinloch, who died 2nd April, 1839, in Kinloch, &c. . . . Densland, &c. . . . in and near Auchterarder, Kingseat, &c. . . . Perthshire. (Recorded July 7, 1842.)"

This was the last Campbell laird of Kinloch. He was in India when his father died. Shortly afterwards his mother moved to Portobello, where she died in 1841. Mr. William Penney, Advocate (afterwards Lord Kinloch, Lord of Session), acted as man of business for the property until General Campbell's return home. The only son of the latter, John Wemyss Campbell, an officer in the Indian Army, died of cholera in 1863.

In 1868, General Campbell's brother and next natural heir, Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, disappeared, leaving no trace! Having many heavy expenses to meet in connection with his support of the claim of his nephew, Major-General Charles William Campbell (in Boreland) to the Earldom of Breadalbane,¹ General Charles Campbell—to the great distress of the family and of the tenants—sold the remaining portion of the lands² thus held by his fore-

¹ C. W. Campbell's mother was a Campbell of Kinloch, and sister to General Charles Campbell.

² He had previously parted with a large portion to the 1st Marquess of Breadalbane (see p. 53).

fathers for 250 years, to George William Fox, 9th Baron Kinnaird, K.T., P.C., who wished to acquire a Highland estate for his brother and heir, the Hon. Arthur Kinnaird.

The circumstances of Colonel John Campbell's disappearance made much stir in London society at the time, and it was the more remarkable in that for the last three generations a similar eclipse, for anyhow a portion of their lives, had occurred in each case of the *second* son in the direct Kinloch line. Thus Charles, "the exile"—a *second* son—was lost to the family between 1730 and 1749. *His* second son, Gregory, had the same fate, and now "Laird John's" second son also vanished, leaving no clue behind! This time the mystery has had no solution, and remains as impenetrable as ever!

Colonel John Campbell, who was a widower with three surviving sons, married in 1860, the Princess Victoria Gouramma, daughter of the Rajah of Coorg, and god-daughter of Queen Victoria, who had placed her, some time previously, under my mother's care. There was one daughter of this marriage, to whom my mother was later made guardian. She has since married, and has one son.

After four years of happy married life, Princess Gouramma died of consumption on March 31, 1864.

On August 7, 1867, as stated above, Colonel Campbell left his lodgings in London, carrying only a small handbag, as if merely going out for the day. He refused the offer of his landlord to call a cab, saying he would find one at the top of the street; and from the moment that he turned the corner and the man

lost sight of him, no further trace of him has ever been discovered. He had left a note that day at his club for his eldest son,¹ then home on leave from India, making an appointment for a few days later, which he never kept ! But so averse were the son and brother—General Charles Campbell—from making any stir or talk in the matter, which might cause him annoyance were he to return suddenly, that they delayed *for three months* (until November 1) application to Scotland Yard for assistance. By that time, of course, it was too late, all trace had evaporated !

There was this much excuse for their conduct, in that in the summer of the same year a certain West Country family had made themselves ridiculous by raising a general hue and cry in all the newspapers, to obtain tidings of one of their number who had incontinently vanished, and whom they declared must be wandering as a lunatic or suffering from loss of memory ! The individual in question was a country rector,² and to the mortification of his relatives, was unearthed by a zealous rural constable in the county of Wilts, in the guise of a carter, which dress he had adopted in order to escape the too close surveillance of his friends !

Dreading of all things to become a laughing-stock, since he was known himself as an inveterate jester, General Charles Campbell restrained his nephew from

¹ Then Captain Q.O. Corps of Guides, afterwards Major-General R. B. P. P. Campbell, C.B. ; died in 1897.

² He was, I was told as a child, a brother of Captain Speke, discoverer of the sources of the Nile.

decisive measures till he was actually on the eve of departure to rejoin his regiment.

That Colonel John Campbell met with foul play very shortly after he left his rooms in Jermyn Street the police had no doubt. Even at that period they acknowledged that there were annually in London many more of these total disappearances than the world in general had any conception of, and as he was a great judge of horseflesh, having at one time been Superintendent of the Government breeding-establishment in India, and had won the Calcutta Derby with a horse he had reared, he was a great frequenter of race-meetings in England and elsewhere, and it was easy to believe found himself occasionally in very doubtful company.

In his last note he had told his son that he had to "go into the country about a lump of money," but this had conveyed to both the latter and his landlord that it was a matter of a few hours or perhaps a day or two.

Many tales were rife in London clubs regarding this "mystery," as he was a well-known man in society, and a romantic interest attached to his marriage with an Indian Princess. The one most in vogue, perhaps, was that he had been kidnapped and murdered by natives of India, either out of revenge, or to obtain jewels belonging to his wife, and which might possibly have been in the small black bag he carried as all his luggage. This idea, however, obtained no credence in the family. Poor Princess Gouramma's oriental jewels were of small value, though she had received some handsome gifts in that line from Queen Victoria,

none of which were found among Colonel Campbell's possessions either at his rooms or at the bank. The Coorg princes, moreover, never showed any sort of resentment at her marriage with a "Sahib," and it had been greatly furthered by the Maharajah Duleep Singh, a close friend of Colonel Campbell, and my father's ward.

The foregoing, with further details, I have already made public in *Lady Login's Recollections*, pp. 280-3.¹ Nevertheless, I was interested to find, two years ago, the mythical story of natives kidnapping my uncle for his wife's jewels revived in *Notes and Queries* by a gentleman empowered by the India Office to compile a history of the Coorg State and Royal Family, who did not know whether the Princess Gouramma had left descendants or not. Apparently it had not occurred to him to inquire in the Pension Department of the same building whether anyone of her name was drawing an allowance. The daughter—named "Edith Victoria Gouramma Campbell"—was brought up by my mother, shared my governesses, and married Mr. H. E. Yardley in 1882. There is one son of the marriage.

But of Colonel John Campbell's fate no further tidings have ever reached his family, though close on sixty years have now passed. False scents have started from time to time in all directions, all faithfully followed up by his youngest brother, Major Colin Campbell, so long as he himself survived him. General Charles Campbell died in 1879.

I have mentioned above Colonel John Campbell's

¹ Published by Smith, Elder & Co. (now Mr. John Murray), 1916.

eldest son, Major-General Robert Byng Patricia Price¹ Campbell, C.B., who after his uncle General Charles's death became the head of the family.² He had a very distinguished Indian career, beginning with the Mutiny, when he was on one occasion recommended for the Victoria Cross. He served also throughout the Second Afghan War under Lord Roberts. His services are given in full in the Duchess of Atholl's *Military History of Perthshire*.³

To name only one or two other members of these later generations, descendants of the Kinloch Campbells, whose careers are dealt with in this same *Military History*, Major Colin Campbell (alluded to just now, p. 70), as a lad of eighteen, before he joined the Indian Army, himself raised a half-company of fifty men, and sailed with them as lieutenant to join the forces of Queen Christina of Spain, in an attempt to put down the Carlist Rising. As soon as the tidings reached him that he had received a commission in the H.E.I.C.S., he made his way home through Carlist territory, with many hairbreadth escapes, and arrived at Kinloch, still clad in the "arriero's" dress in which he had disguised himself. The mingled pleasure and horror with which his father, John Campbell of Kinloch, regarded his son in this familiar attire, was described by eye-witnesses as truly pathetic. The dress itself

¹ His name perpetuates the memory of a sister of his father who died on what was to have been her wedding-day; and that of her fiancé, General the Hon. Robert Byng, her brother's great friend.

² His only son, Lieutenant-Colonel Hector Campbell, D.S.O., M.V.O., now occupies that position.

³ Published 1908.

plainly evoked old and happy memories, but he could not conceal his sense of outrage that a son of his should so demean himself as to wear it in the presence of his mother and sisters !

XI

LIFE AT KINLOCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE household in my grandfather's time was conducted on old feudal lines, as the farm-servants, both men and women, lived on the premises, the men having their sleeping-quarters over the stables down by the mill, where was also the "spinning-room," with accommodation for sixteen wheels, over which my grandmother presided, she herself being a noted spinner. The rents of farm and cot being mostly paid in labour, the men giving so many days' work on the laird's land in "hairst" and "hayseln," the wives and daughters supplied a certain number of fowls—called "kane-chickens"—for the table of the big hoose, and had also to do so many days' "spinning" for the "Leddy" (or *Vynegern*, in the Gaelic). This spinning-room, as the evenings drew in, was the centre of attraction to all the "lads" from the farm and countryside. No frivolous behaviour was allowed under the eye of the "leddy," but certain favoured youths were allowed by her to enter and seat themselves decorously in the background near the maidens of their choice, to escort them homewards after their

work. In this room the fleeces of the Kinloch sheep were spun into yarn, ready for the Trochrie weaver, but flax, grown in large fields on the hillside above the house, was the staple manufacture. This flax crop was an important item in the revenues of the Kinloch estate; huge bundles of it were to be seen soaking in the pools of the Cochill burn, to be afterwards beaten with heavy mallets in order to separate the fibre, then carded and wound on spools, ready for the winter spinning. A fatal day came when the home manufacture of linen was prohibited by law!—was it to foster the new trade of Ulster?—and when the “leddy” spread her woven webs to bleach in the full sun, the bairns of the countryside were set on guard, and a signal waved from Cablea hill warned the “hoose” that “gaugers” had been sighted coming down the Aberfeldy road!

In an instant the “bleaching-greens” were black with human ants; every man, woman and bairn in the “four touns” of Cablea, Innercochill, Milltoun and Deansheugh, felt it a point of honour that their beloved “Bhantighearna” should not be caught defying the minions of the law!

Well though they knew that she still span and wove her napery, and had word of the bleaching, never once, though often they came by stealth, did the excisemen catch even a glimpse of a pocket-handkerchief airing in the “policies,” though but a half-hour syne the hillside was white as with a snow-drift!

The catering for this household was a serious matter, and seldom were joints of meat seen in the servants-hall, the *pièce de résistance* being the “kail-pot,”

into which all scraps went. In the centre of the table stood a large flat basket, piled high with barley bannocks ten inches in diameter, and the men were connoisseurs on the subject of their correct consistency. They were the test of a woman's value. One who was known to bake good scones went in little danger of wanting a husband! Oatmeal porridge was the staple breakfast and supper, the women-servants alone being allowed tea.

Stores had to be laid in before the winter, and the factor advised how many fat beasts to buy at the Dunkeld Martinmas fair, when the cattle arrived in droves from Argyllshire. These were salted down with the mutton hams, and then commenced the annual manufacture of tallow "dips."

Association was very close between the tenants and cottars and the family at the "big Hoose." Whenever news of a death came some one member was expected to appear as soon as possible, in token of respect; even the small children were compelled by their nurses to enter the house and touch the corpse, lest it should "walk" and haunt them ever after.

One of the younger daughters of Kinloch who had been born with a "caul" (or "happy how") was believed to have healing powers, and in such request when any "beast" had been bewitched, "overlooked," or stricken with mysterious disease, that she was frequently roused and dressed by the servants in the middle of the night, on a sudden summons, rolled in a plaid and carried on a man's back over the hills to some distant shieling, to be there made

to stand by the side of a sick cow or calf, and, holding the creature's ear, repeat a Gaelic charm of whose meaning she had not the faintest conception ! Or it might be that the formula was required by someone proceeding on a journey, or starting some new venture ; for it was firmly believed that any incantation pronounced by her lips could not fail to bring good luck ! Needless to say that all these expeditions were carefully concealed from my grandmother's ken !¹

In the next generation—grandsons of this same Laird² of Kinloch—may be also noted Major-General Sir William Hope Meiklejohn, K.C.B., hero of the defence of Malakand, and Rear-Admiral Spencer H. M. Login, C.V.O., besides Major-General Charles William Campbell (in Boreland), son of a daughter of Kinloch (Charlotte Olympia Cockburn), a noted cavalry officer in the Indian Mutiny and the Egyptian War, who was claimant in 1866 to the Earldom of Breadalbane,³ and his brother George Colin Lorn Campbell, Lieutenant-Colonel, who served throughout the campaigns in Zululand, Perak and Egypt.

What though for half a century no Campbell has held the lands of Kinloch, their memory lingers yet o'er strath and hill, and stories still are whispered of "Laird Joseph's" death and of a cloaked figure haunting the old house !

¹ For fuller details of the life at Kinloch in those days see *Lady Login's Recollections*, chap. i, pp. 3-27.

² Known among his contemporaries as "Don Juan."

³ His son, also named "Charles William" (M.C. and Major, R.F.A.), succeeded to the earldom in 1923, on the death of the last of the Glenfalloch line.

It seems well, therefore, that what is known of them should be placed on record ere their story fades entirely away !

“ Evil befall the House of Pall-i-veulan !
Upon the second son the curse shall fall !
He is a wanderer among men, and his grave
Is ever hidden from his kith and kin !
The Laird shall flee across the salt sea waves
Where south is cold and north is hot :
On him shall fall the ban of Holy Church,
And on his sons that ban shall rest.
Though they return once more unto their own,
Though they forsake the faith,
Its ban shall follow them !

The storm shall bring it—and with the storm they pass !
Till on black Cochill's banks no more the sweet-gale blooms ! ”



- I. CHART PEDIGREE, CAMPBELLS OF KIN-
LOCH IN MALE LINE
- II. CHART PEDIGREE, DESCENDANTS OF
DAUGHTERS OF JOHN CAMPBELL OF
KINLOCH
- III. THE BIRTHBRIEF TRANSCRIBED FOR
PRINTING

LINE

es), and other sources.

, dau. of Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland.

wart of Ardgowan, natural son of King Robert III.

nd co-heiress of John,
Lorn.

Luke Stirling of Keir.

f William Drummond of Balloch,
died (1578) Duncan C. of Glenlyon,
an Lyon of Cossins.

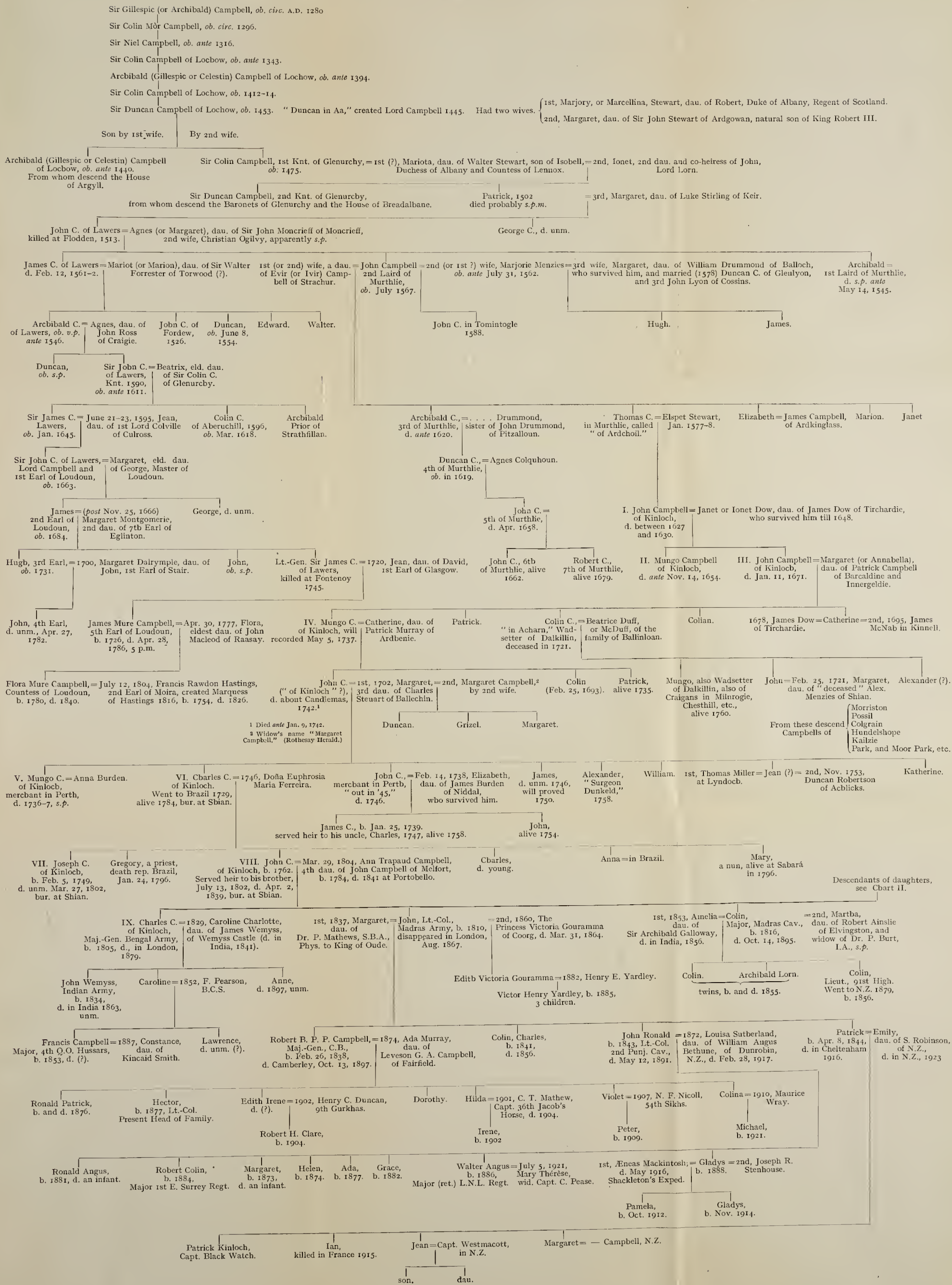
Archibald =
1st Laird of Murthlie,
d. *s.p. ante*
May 14, 1545.

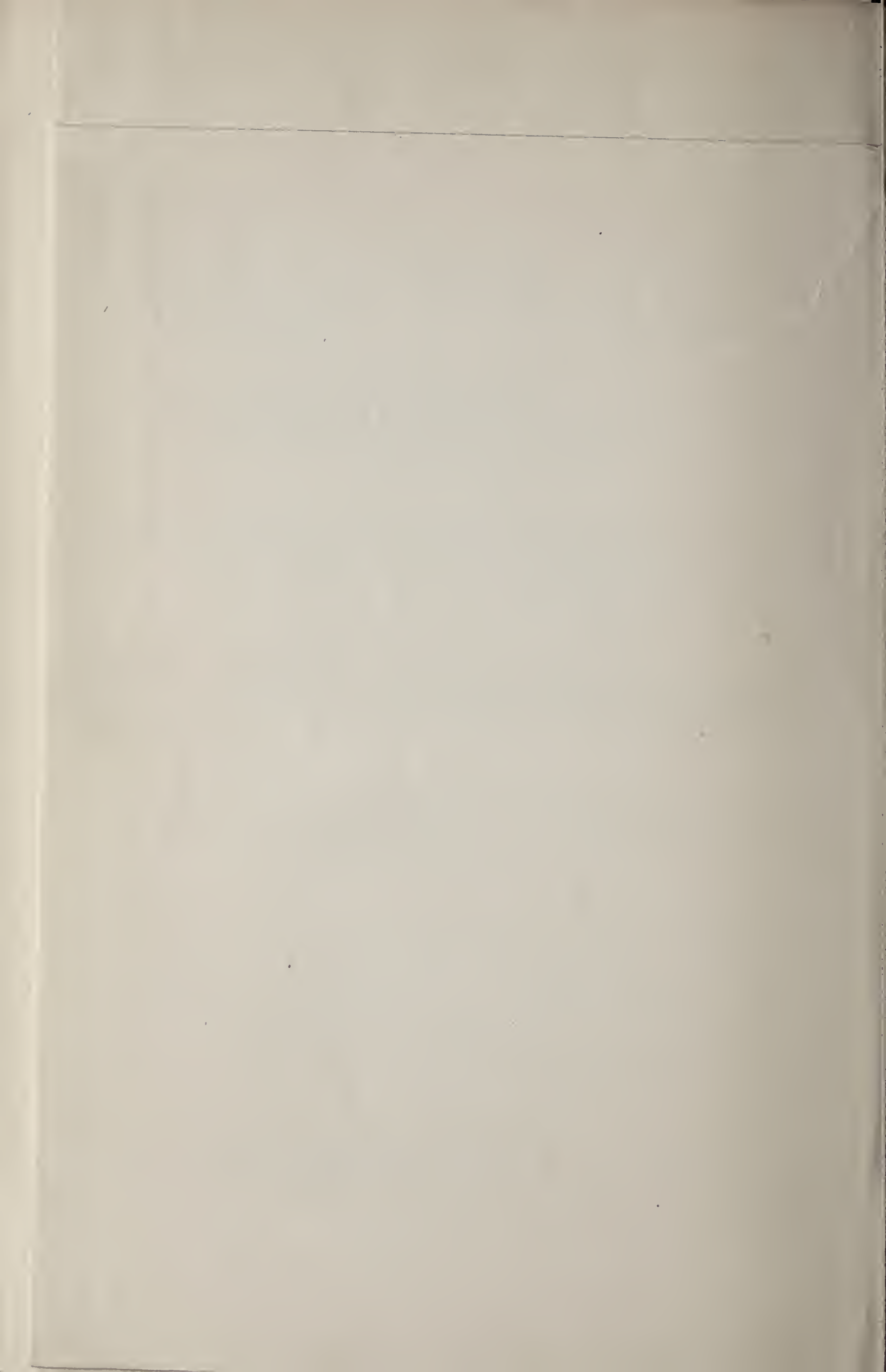
James.



I.—CHART PEDIGREE OF THE CAMPBELLS OF KINLOCH: MALE LINE

Corrected from the new edition of "The Scots Peerage," edited by Sir James Balfour Paul (Lyon-King-of-Arms), and other sources.





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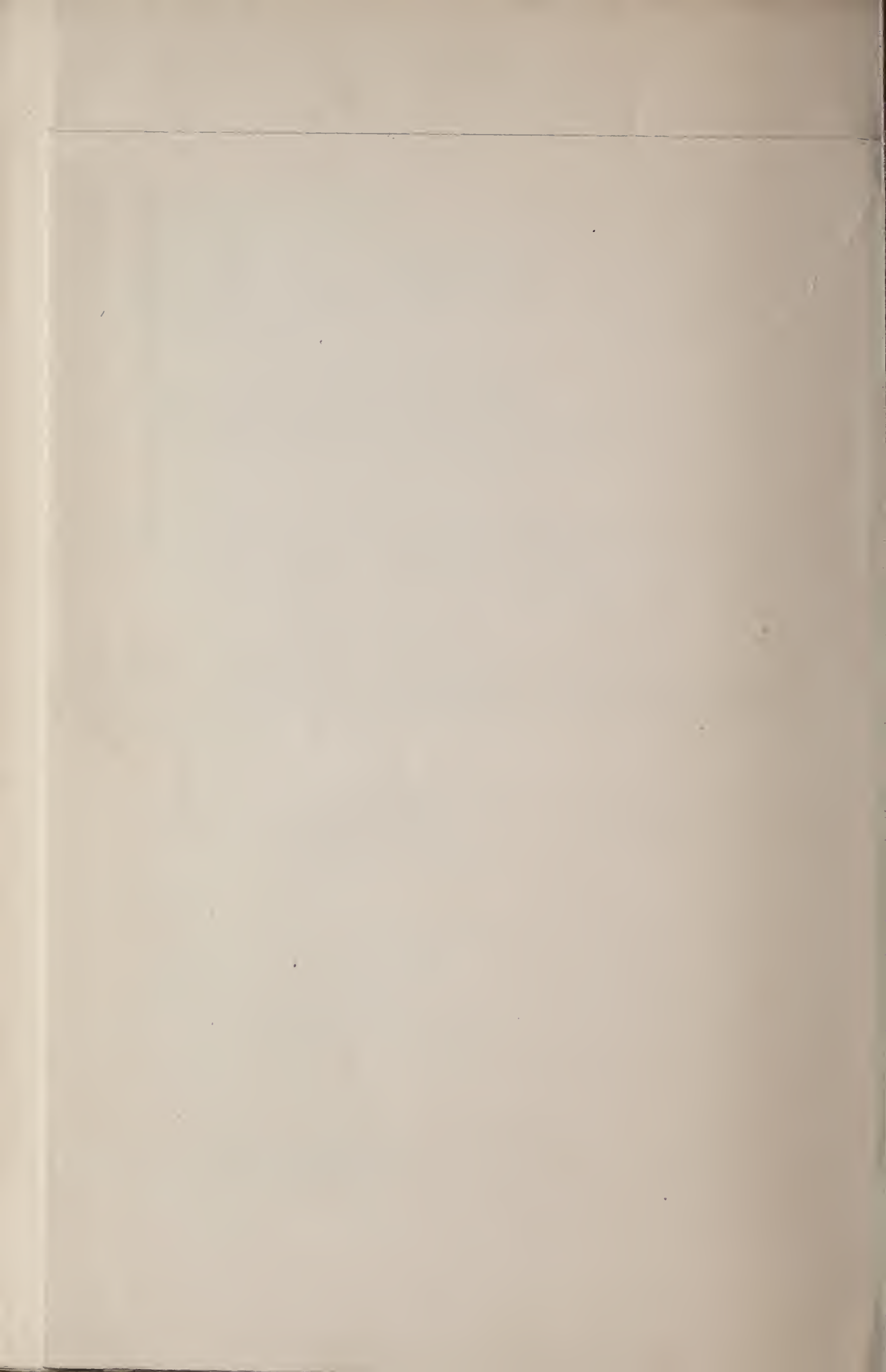
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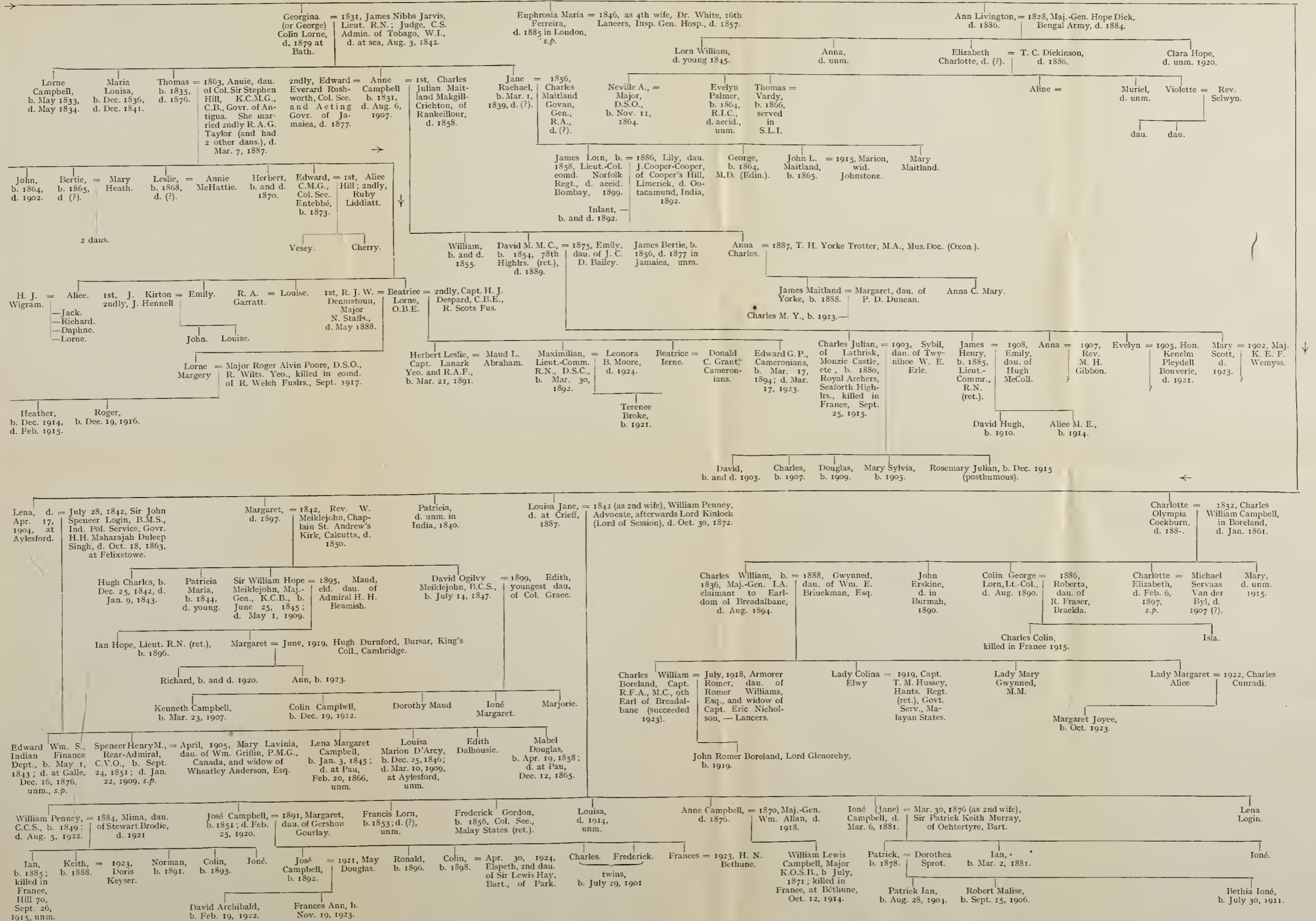
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II.—DAUGHTERS OF JOHN CAMPBELL (VIIITH) OF KINLOCH AND HIS WIFE, ANN TRAPAUD CAMPBELL, AND THEIR DESCENDANTS

→ continued



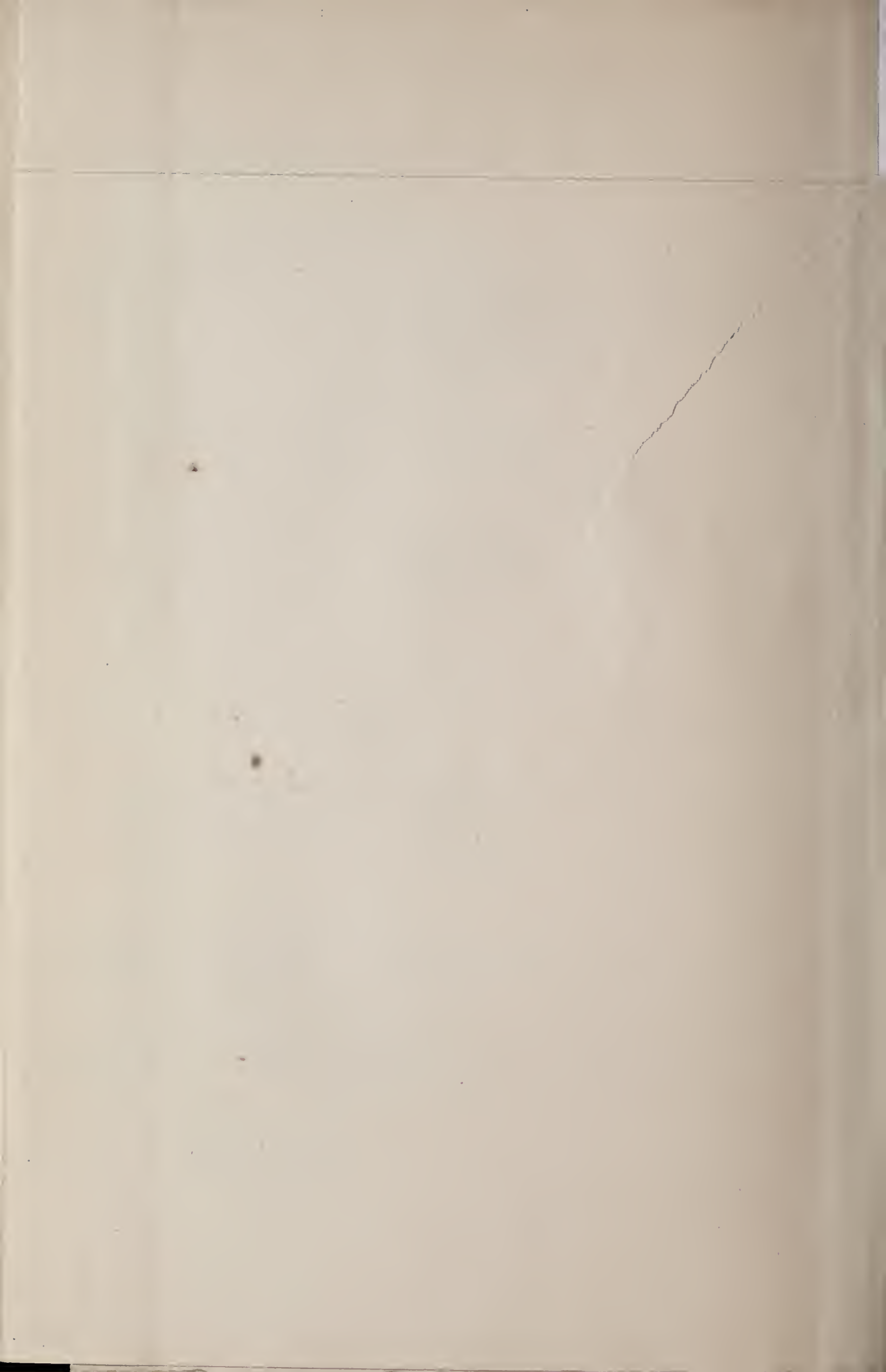


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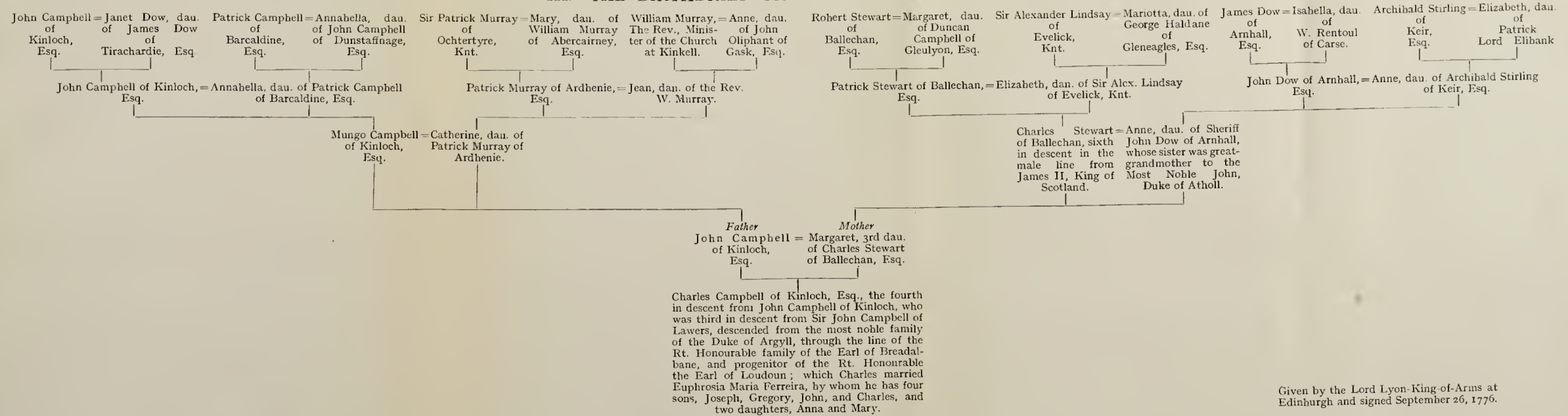
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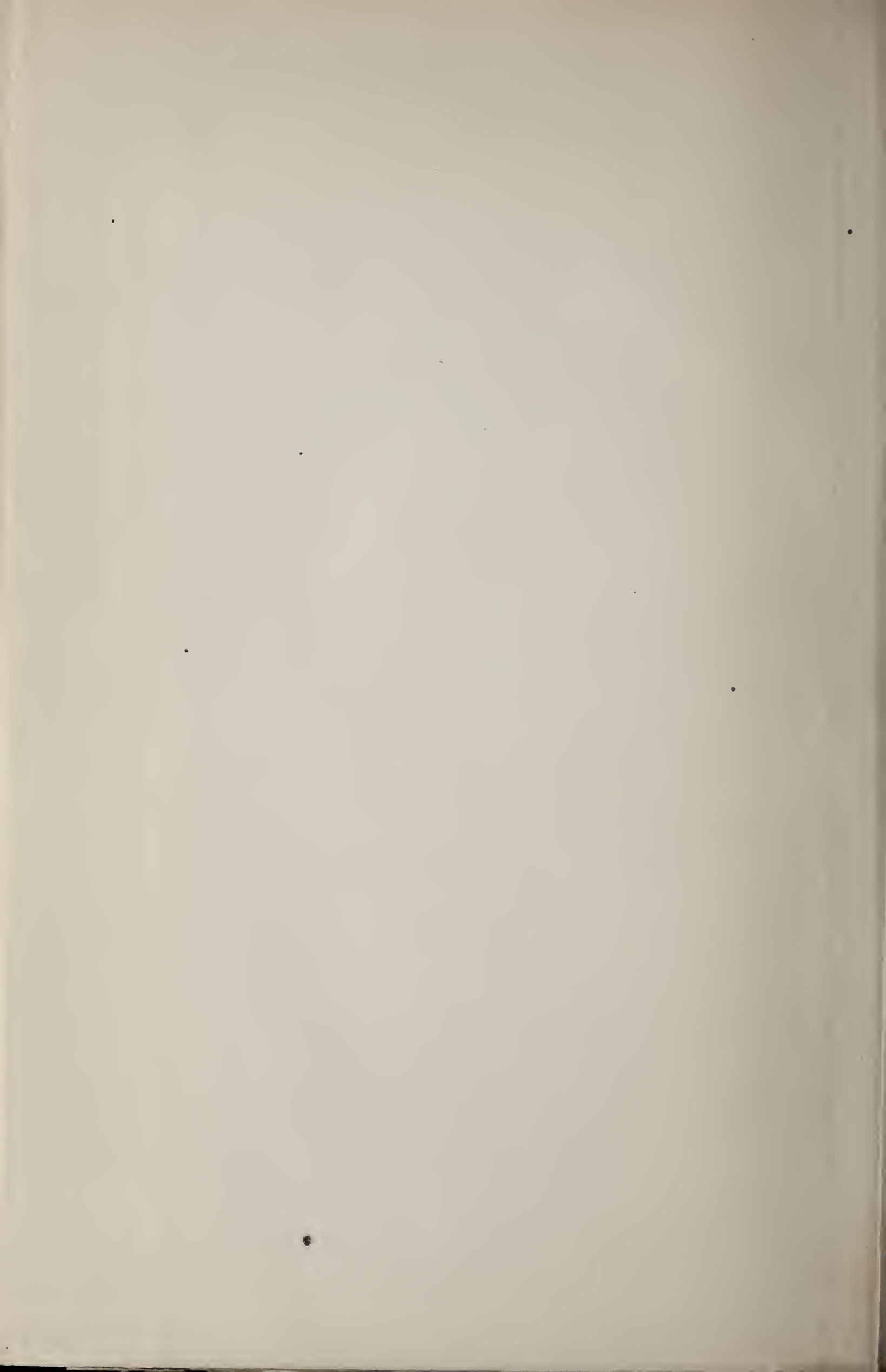
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III.—THE BIRTHBRIEF OR “PROOF OF GENTILITY”



Given by the Lord Lyon-King-of-Arms at Edinburgh and signed September 26, 1776.



NOTES CONCERNING SOME OF THE PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE PREVIOUS PEDIGREES

Campbell, Alexander, son of John Campbell (see p. 32),
Surgeon in Dunkeld and Tutor to James and John,
sons of his brother John (*The C. C.*, ii. 147).

— Archibald (Gillespic or Celestin), of Lochow, son of
Sir Colin, 1343. *Ob. ante* 1394. His 1st wife, dau.
of Sir John Menteith, 2nd son of Sir Walter Stuart,
Earl of Menteith; his 2nd wife Mary or Isabella,
dau. of Sir John Lamont, 3rd of that ilk.

— (Sir) Archibald (Gillespic or Celestin), of Lochow,
1414, 1415, 1431, died in lifetime of his father, *ante*
March 1440.

1st wife (doubtful), Elizabeth, dau. of John, 3rd
Lord Somerville of Carnwath.

2nd wife (doubtful), a dau. of Murdoch, Duke of
Albany, Regent of Scotland.

3rd wife, Mariota, dau. of Sir Donald, Lord of the
Isles, *post* Feb. 13, 1420.

— Archibald, of Lawers, charter of half Lawers 1542.
His wife Agnes, dau. of John Ross of Craigie.

— Archibald, in Lawers, Prior of Strathfillan, son of
Sir John Campbell of Lawers.

— Archibald, 3rd of Murthlie, son of John, 2nd of
Murthlie.

— Sir Colin Mòr, 1st Knt. of Lochow, 1280, 1291, son
of Sir Gillespic, died about 1296.

Campbell, Sir Colin, 3rd Knt. of Lochow, son of Sir Niel by 1st wife, Crown Charter of free barony of Lochow 1315. Mentioned 1316, 1334. *Ob. ante* May 1343.

His wife Helena, dau. of Sir John Mòr, son of Earl of Lennox.

— Sir Colin, 5th Knt. of Lochow, 1361, 1364, 1404, 1409. *Ob.* 1412-14.

— Sir Colin, 1st Knt. of Glenurchy, b. *post* Feb. 1423. Charter of Glenurchy 1432. Charters of Auchreoch Oct. 27, 1467, and of the barony of Lawers, Dec. 17, 1473.

1st wife (doubtful), Mariota, dau. of Walter Stewart of Albany, son of Isobell, Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox.

2nd wife, *circ.* 1448, Ionet, 2nd dau. and co-heiress of John, Lord Lorn.

3rd: his marriage to Margaret or Marie, dau. of Robert Robertson of Struan, mother of John, Bishop of the Isles, is now denied.

3rd (or 4th) wife, Margaret, dau. of Luke Stirling of Keir. *Nupt. ante* Oct. 27, 1467.

— Colin, of Aberuchill, son of Sir John C. of Lawers.

— Colin, called "in Acharn." See pp. 21, 22.

— Colian, dau. of John 3rd of Kinloch, baptised in Kenmore Kirk, July 22, 1655.

— Catherine, do. do., married 1st, 1678, James Dow of Tirchardie; 2ndly, James McNab in Kinell (Mr. H. Paton).

— Colin George Lorn (Boreland), Lieut.-Colonel, served in Zululand and Egyptian Wars and Perak Expedition (see Lady Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire*, also above, p. 75).

— Charles Colin, son of above, "missing" after capture of Hohenzollern Redoubt, in command Machine-gun Section, Cameronians, 1915.

- Campbell, Charles, 6th Laird of Kinloch, recovered his estates 1759. Believed to have been born about 1704.
- Charles William (Boreland), Maj.-General (see p. 75, also Lady Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire*).
- Charles William Boreland, son of above, now 9th Earl of Breadalbane, M.C., served throughout war with R.F.A.
- Sir Duncan, 6th Knt. of Lochow, called "Na-Adh" or "Duncan in Aa." Knighted 1440; created Lord Campbell 1445. *Ob.* 1453.
- 1st wife, Margery, or Marcellina, Stewart. Alive 1420. *Ob. ante* Aug. 1432.
- 2nd wife, Margaret, dau. of Sir John Stewart of Ardgowan, Blackhall and Auchingoun, a natural son of King Robert III, m. 1423.
- Duncan, in Lawers, son of James 2nd of Lawers, had charter of half of Lawers, Auchenreoch, &c., 1546.
- Duncan in Lawers, son of Archibald, outlived his father, but died in his grandfather's lifetime.
- Duncan, 4th of Murthlie, son of Archibald, alive 1617, dead in 1619 (Mr. H. Paton) (Perth Sasines).
- Edward and Walter, sons of James, 2nd of Lawers.
- Flora Mure, Countess of Loudoun, married 1804 Marquess of Hastings. See pp. 11, 12; also Pedigree.
- Sir Gillespie (or Archibald), *ob.* 1280, mentioned 1263, 1266.
- Gregory (or Gregorio), 2nd son of Charles 6th of Kinloch. See pp. 7, 11, 61-64.
- Hector, Lieut.-Colonel, D.S.O., M.V.O., son of Maj.-General R. B. P. P. Campbell, now commanding 2nd Batt. Q.V.O. Corps of Guides. Was in command of a brigade in Palestine in 1917.
- Hugh, 3rd Earl of Loudoun, son of 2nd Earl. Resignation and new grant of his honours Feb. 7-8, 1707. Married 3rd dau. of 1st Earl of Stair.

Campbell, James, 2nd of Lawers, had sasine of the three Lawers 1513. Crown Charter erecting do. into free barony 1525, &c. His wife is variously given as dau. of Sir "Duncan Forrester of Garden" and "Sir Walter Forrester of Torwood." Also as "relict of Sir Henry Shaw of Cambusmore." She died Oct. 31, 1537, and her husband, Feb. 12, 1561-62. His second wife was "Janet Gray," dau. of Andrew, 2nd Lord Gray, and a 3rd wife was Isobel Hay.

— Sir James, of Lawers, 2nd son of Sir John. His wife, Jean Colville, m. May 28, 1596 (Perth Sasines, i. 120. Mr. Paton, Lyon Office). See also *Scots Peerage*, vol. v, pp. 504 *et seq.*

— James, 2nd Earl of Loudoun, son of 1st Earl.

— Lieut.-General Sir James, of Lawers, son of preceding, killed at Fontenoy 1745. See p. 54.

His wife Jean, dau. of 1st Earl of Glasgow, marriage contract Mar. 29, 1720.

— James, 5th Earl of Loudoun, marriage contract Apr. 30, 1777. See pp. 11, 12.

— James, son of John Campbell and brother of Charles C. of Kinloch (p. 32), died unm. at "Fort St. David's, East Indies," May 1746. Will proved 1750.

— James and John, sons of John, brother of Charles C. of Kinloch. The first-named was established in Kinloch "as heir to his uncle Charles," Jan. 9, 1747. In 1759 said to be residing in Argyllshire (see Decreet, pp. 39, 40).

— Jean, a dau. of John Campbell. Probably the lady referred to in *The C. C.*, iv. 10, as twice married.

— John, of Auchreoch, afterwards of Lawers, 1497. Killed at Flodden 1513. 3rd son of Sir Colin Campbell, 1st Knt. of Glenurchy.

1st wife, Margaret or Agnes, dau. of Sir John Moncrieff of Moncrieff.

2nd wife, Christian Ogilvy, *s.p.*

Campbell, John, 2nd of Murthlie, succeeded his *younger* brother. No documentary evidence of his first marriage is available (to the dau. of Campbell of Strachur), but the family tradition is strong on this point, and also that she was the mother of the two elder sons—Archibald and Thomas. His name appears on documents 1523–65. His next wife, Marjorie Menzies, is mentioned as mother of his son “John C. in Tomintogle,” and his last wife, Margaret Drummond, as mother of his sons Hugh and James, whom Rothesay Herald notes as “Executors of Dalmenich.”

—— John, of Fordew, son of James 2nd of Lawers.

—— Sir John, of Lawers, succeeded his grandfather James. Knighted 1590. Acquired lands of Aberuchill (which he passed on to his 2nd son) from Murray of Abercairney 1594.

His wife Beatrix, eld. dau. of Sir Colin C. of Glenurchy.

—— Sir John, of Lawers, son of Sir James, born 1598, after his marriage in 1620 was Lord Campbell of Loudoun. Created Earl of Loudoun 1633. Died 1663. His wife, Margaret, eld. dau. of George Campbell, Master of Loudoun, only son of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, 1st Lord Campbell of Loudoun.

—— Col. John, of Shankstoun, son of James, 2nd Earl of Loudoun, died *s.p.*

—— John, 4th Earl of Loudoun, died unm. 1782.

—— John, 5th of Murthlie, Sasine 1606, served heir 1619, died Apr. 1698. (Mr. Paton.)

—— John, 1st of Kinloch, son of Thomas Campbell in Murthlie, 1625. Had a tack of the Teinds of Murthlie assigned to his widow. Tutor to John C. of Murthlie.

—— John, 3rd of Kinloch (A. T. G., *Book of C. C.*, iv. 182). See p. 19.

Campbell, John, eld. son of Mungo, 4th of Kinloch. He is said in the Decreet to have died "about Candlemas" 1742, but a deed is given to his widow (Margaret Campbell, a second wife) on Jan. 9 of that year (see *The C. C.*, ii. 143), from his sons, with provision for her three children. Rothesay Herald also draws attention to this. A Factory by "John Campbell of Kinloch" to "his cousin Mungo Campbell in Chestle" dated at "Milton of Strathbraan, Aug. 27, 1744" (*The C. C.*, ii. 145), also has caused confusion as to the date of his death, but this deed is undoubtedly made out by his son John Campbell, "acting" Laird of Kinloch. His will is endorsed with date of his death "1742." He was undoubtedly alive when in his "Disposition" his son Mungo—May 2, 1735—describes *himself* as "of Kinloch," although in 1702 the father's name appears as witness on a deed as "John Campbell of Kinloch" (*The C. C.*, ii. 122). First mentioned Feb. 25, 1698 (*A. T. G.*, *Book of C. C.*, iv. 180).

— John, son of above, merchant in Perth, is referred to in Lord Rosebery's "List of Rebels" (see p. 26 of this book) as "of Kinloch," and Rothesay Herald notes against his name in the pedigree "of Kinloch 1737-43 at least, and succeeded Mungo," but had not then seen the Decreet, which explains matters.

— Lieut.-Colonel John, Madras Army, married, as 2nd wife, Princess Victoria Gouramma of Coorg. See pp. 66-70.

— Joseph or José, 7th of Kinloch, died unm. 1802. See pp. 8, 11, 39, 43, 63.

— Mungo, 2nd of Kinloch. See p. 19. Served heir to his father, John C. of Kinloch 1634.

— Mungo, 4th of Kinloch. See pp. 20-23. In Kinloch 1675 (*The C. C.*, ii. 76).

— Mungo, son of Colin "in Acharn," also Wadsetter

of Dalkillin, had sasine of Precept of Clare Constat, Oct. 15, 1718, from Campbell of Turrerich. Served heir to his father Colin 1720 (Mr. J. Christie). Also of Craggans (or Craigans) in Milnrogie (Buchant's Bridge) and Chesthill. See pp. 21, 22.

Campbell, Mungo, 5th of Kinloch, generally referred to as "merchant in Perth" to distinguish him from his grandfather of the same name. His "Disposition" made 1735. Believed to have died 1747.

—— Mary, a nun at Sabará, Brazil, dau. of Charles C. See p. 64.

—— Lady Mary, sister 9th Earl of Breadalbane, received Military Medal (M.M.) for services at bombardment of hospitals at Étaples 1917.

—— Sir Niel, son of Sir Colin Mòr, King's Bailie of Lochow 1296, mentioned 1282, 1309. *Ob. ante* 1316.

His 1st wife, yr. dau. Andrew Crawford, *ob. ante* 1303.

His 2nd wife, Lady Mary Bruce, sister of King Robert the Bruce.

—— Patrick, son of John 3rd of Kinloch, in Kinloch 1675 (*The C. C.*, ii. 76).

—— Patrick, son of Mungo 4th of Kinloch (see p. 23). Described by Mungo C. of Kinloch as "my uncle," May 2, 1735 (*The C. C.*, ii. 141).

—— Patricia, only unmarried dau. of John Campbell, 8th of Kinloch, who died, after only a week's illness, on what was to have been her wedding-day with Gen. the Hon. Robert Byng, father of the 8th Viscount Torrington.

—— Robert Byng Patricia Price, Maj.-General, C.B., son of Lieut.-Colonel John Campbell (pp. 68, 71 *note*).

—— Thomas, "in Murthlie," called "of Ardchoil," 2nd son of John, 2nd of Murthlie. See pp. 14 *et seq.*

—— Walter Angus, Major (ret.), son of Lieut.-Colonel John Ronald Campbell, m. 1923, Mary Thérèse, dau.

of Col. F. Biddulph of Birr, King's Co., and widow of Capt. C. Pease, L.N.L. Regt.

Jarvis, Thomas, son of Georgina Campbell and James N. Jarvis, suc. to his uncle's estates of Mt. Joshua, Antigua; m. Annie, dau. of Col. Sir S. Hill, Govr. of the island. She m. 2ndly, R. A. G. Taylor, and had two daughters, d. 1887.

— Edward Blackwell, his only surviving son, Col. Sec., Entebbé, B.E.A.

— (or Despard) Beatrice Lorne, O.B.E., dau. of Thomas Jarvis, m. 1st Major R. J. W. Dennistoun; 2ndly, Capt. H. J. Despard, C.B.E., now Chief Constable and D.L. of Lanarkshire.

Meiklejohn, Maj.-General Sir W. H., K.C.B. (see p. 75), joined Indian Army after the Mutiny at the age of 17. Served throughout 2nd Afghan War, Tirah and Chitral Exped., &c. Services given in full in *Military History of Perthshire*.

— Ian Hope, his son, served in Royal Navy to the end of the war 1914-18. Present at Battle of Jutland in a destroyer. Retired from the service to take up farming in Kenya Colony.

Poore, Lorne Margery, dau. of Mrs. Despard by 1st husband (Dennistoun); m. Major Roger Alvin Poore, D.S.O. Now of Carnbroe, Lanarkshire, and Ferneyhurst, Rownhams, Hants.

Stenhouse, Gladys, youngest dau. of Lieut.-Colonel John Ronald Campbell, widow of Æneas Mackintosh, eld. son of Alistair Mackintosh of Daviot, who died in the Ross Sea with Sir E. Shackleton's South Pole Exped., May 1916, by whom she had two daughters. She m. 2ndly Joseph R. Stenhouse, master of s.s. *Discovery*, sailing (1924) on Govt. Whaling Exped. to South Georgia.

